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THE HISTORY OF THE CLERGY DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Barruel


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JUN

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CLERGY

DURING THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

A WORK DEDICATED TO THE

ENGLISH NATION:

By the Abbé BARRUEL,

ALMONER

TO HER SERENE HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF CONTI.



DUBLIN:

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1794.

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TO

THE ENGLISH.

BRITISH NATION,

AT the ſight of a number of men of all ranks and all orders of ſociety, and eſpecially of the miniſters of the goſpel, driven on your coaſts by the French revolution, you waited not for a detail of our ſufferings, to exert an unexampled generoſity in our favour. The ſword of perſecution reduced us to the neceſſity of ſeeking protection from foreign nations, and you opened your ports to us, and the people of England came eagerly forward to receive us in their arms, and to ſhelter us under their hoſpitable roofs.

But ſoon the ſenſibility of your minds having provided for our ſafety, and our more preſſing wants, intereſted itſelf in the fate of the unhappy

happy victims, and excited a ſpirit of enquiry into the nature and the extent of misfortunes, which drove us from a country which we ſtill love, and the fatal errors of which only add to our wiſhes and our prayers for its proſperity. The information you received on this occaſion was ſuch only as individuals could give. Every man knew what he himſelf ſuffered, and gave a faithful account of what he had heard of others; but theſe unconnected reports formed not a regular hiſtory of the cataſtrophe, which there had given a mortal blow to religion. Our generous friends wiſhed for information, on which they might form a ſolid judgment. Gratitude called upon us to ſatisfy ſo reaſonable a requeſt; and it is with a view to diſcharge this important duty that we now publiſh a collection of accounts, which have been communicated to us by our diſperſed brethren. A fear of adding by exaggeration to events ſo tragical in themſelves, rendered us cautious in the admiſſion of the ſeveral pieces, and we have rejected every thing that came from uncertain authority and vague report. To adhere ſtrictly to the truth, and ſpeak nothing but the truth muſt be allowed in the preſent inſtance to be a difficult taſk. In giving an account of facts as they aroſe, facts which carried on the face of them marks of the moſt atrocious ferocity, we could not but turn our eyes to the country where they happened, and the fear of adding injuſtice to reproach made us ſhrink from the painful taſk.

Happily

Happily for the honour of human nature, this picture of depravity and ferocious barbarity, will exhibit ſome ſketches of finiſhed virtue: crimes muſt be conſidered as the ſhades which heighten its beauty. The calm bleſſings of peace afford no opportunities for the diſplay of heroic valour. Perhaps it was neceſſary that Europe ſhould witneſs the exceſſes of a people, loſt to the firſt principles of humanity; plundering, baniſhing, murdering its unhappy ſubjects, to enjoy the ſpectacle of a nation rich in the treaſures of unaffected benevolence, proud to receive into its boſom, to feed with its ſubſtance, to clothe with its manufactures, to entertain with its opulence whole colonies of afflicted ſtrangers.

The peace of the church has been in all ages diſturbed by tyrants, and why would our days paſs away without producing martyrs? A dark cloud hides for a moment the luſtre of the ſolar rays; but they will dart forth with augmented ſplendour, and appear in all their glory. The honour of my country ſhall not all periſh under the daggers of the aſſaſſins of Marſeilles. The characters of the victims ſhall afford ſome relief to the mind tortured by the ferocious cruelty of the executioners. The name of the archbiſhop of Arles, the name alone of Dulau, ſhall make poſterity forget that there ever exiſted in France a Robeſpiere, a Manuel, a Chabot; as the name alone of Louis XVI. ſhall more than forget

that

that there ever lived ſo execrable a monſter as *Egalité*.

We are not without hopes, that the conſtancy of the ſufferers will one day efface the infamy of the tyrants. Our country will one day boaſt its martyrs, and it would have reaſon to reproach our indolence, if we left not behind us an account of their victories, and a detail of the various trials and inhuman cruelties they underwent.

Generous Britons, a different ſentiment will ariſe in your breaſt on reading this account. When the traveller recounts all the horrors of the ſtorm which threatened him with inſtant deſtruction, emotions of humanity animate the breaſt, and tears of joy fall from him, who was happy enough to ſnatch him from the perilous ſituation. His tranſports can be meaſured only by the imminence of the danger from which he relieved him. Such is the temper, ſuch the enjoyments of great minds. Britons, we are ſenſible of the right you have acquired to ſo valuable a bleſſing. Long may you enjoy it full and undiminiſhed while you peruſe this account.

It will trace the cauſes and the progreſs of a perſecution, which preceded and brought on theſe maſſacres, which here filled your ſouls with horror. It will exhibit authentic memorials of the

the cataſtrophe of the ſecond of September, and the baniſhment of a legion of prieſts, whoſe ſufferings you have had the goodneſs to relieve. The hiſtory of their misfortunes is intimately connected with that of your benevolence. To you then I dedicate it, to you I conſecrate it. My heart, and the hearts of my fellow ſufferers, have taught us that gratitude needs no other patron but the benefactor.

LONDON, where I write under the protection of the Engliſh Nation.

May 10, 1793.

BARRUEL.




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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THIS Hiſtory is divided into three parts: the firſt contains every thing intereſting relative to religion, which was done by the national aſſembly, commonly called the conſtituent aſſembly; that is, from May 1789, to the end of September 1791. The ſecond part ends on the 10th of Auguſt 1792. It was never my deſign to give a complete hiſtory of all that paſſed during thoſe periods: my deſign was only to give ſuch features as were neceſſary to ſhow to the reader in what manner thoſe aſſemblies were connected with, and brought on the third period, viz. that of the maſſacre and baniſhment of the clergy.

The tranſactions of the two firſt parts are too well known to ſtand in need of any other proofs than their own notoriety. Every particular almoſt may be found in the periodical papers of thoſe times, eſpecially that of Fontenai, whom I have principally followed in his account of the

the Glaciere of Avignon, from whence very few eſcaped. The decrees of the aſſembly are in every body's hands. I have ſometimes abridged them, but have never altered their ſenſe. In the third part I have been more attentive to the authorities on which the facts are related. They are taken from the different memoirs which have been ſent to me chiefly by eye-witneſſes, and authenticated by their ſignature. To memoirs not thus authenticated, I have paid no attention: the former I preſerve with care.

Though I have not thought it expedient to enter into the detail of the perſecution of each individual (and almoſt each prieſt had his own hiſtory to relate) or to mention each particular act of humanity ſhewn to the exiles, yet I could not refuſe to gratify the wiſhes of more than ſix hundred poor clergymen in the caſtle of Wincheſter, who have with all the warmth of heart-felt gratitude ſolicited me to mention the unbounded liberality and beneficence of the Marquis of Buckingham and his virtuous lady. An hour does not paſs, ſay they, without ſome inſtance of their protection and generoſity, either public or private. They ſeem to gueſs at our wiſhes, and their generoſity prevents them, and we often find our wants relieved without being able to diſtinguiſh in what manner, or from whence our relief proceeds. Medicines are provided for the ſick, cloaths and linen for thoſe in want of thoſe neceſſaries, and books for the ſtudious. Their attention to us has been carried ſtill further: gardens have been provided, and materials for works in embroidery for ſuch as choſe to amuſe themſelves with thoſe manual exerciſes.

They wiſh me alſo to expreſs in the warmeſt terms of gratitude, the many obligations they lie under to the gentlemen

gentlemen of the church of England eſtabliſhed at Wincheſter and its vicinity; to the R. R. Mr. Poulter, Renell, Woodford; to Drs. Sturges, Newbock and Bignam; to Mr. Silver, mayor of Wincheſter; Mr. Dignam, juſtice of the peace at Goſport; to the unwearied attention of the learned Mr. Milner and Mr. Marſland, catholic clergymen; and to every claſs of citizens, even of the loweſt deſcription, without exception of the peaſants in the neighbourhood of the town. I have been ſolicited to be equally particular with reſpect to Goſport: but the reader will eaſily excuſe me. If every act of generous humanity in Goſport, London, and almoſt every town in England, was to be ſpecified in particular, my hiſtory would have no end. I have therefore judged it more prudent, to content myſelf with a general account of the unexampled generoſity of the nation, in which even a Burke and a Wilmot occupy but a line or two. The capital of a great kingdom covers but a point in the general map: but that point ſufficiently indicates its real greatneſs and its importance.

In the courſe of this hiſtory I have ſometimes applied the terms confeſſor, martyr, or ſaint, to the perſons of whom I was ſpeaking. By ſuch appellations it is by no means my intention to anticipate the deciſions of the church, or to recommend them to public veneration.

The reader will obſerve that ſome facts are mentioned in this hiſtory of an extraordinary nature. I did not think that they ought to be omitted, when a whole town could bear witneſs to their reality. The arrival of D'Expilly in his pretended biſhopric is a fact of this nature. The reader will alſo obſerve that I every where

ſpeak

ſpeak the language of a *Roman Catholic*. After having been obliged to leave my own country for my faith, I could ſpeak no other language. I ſhould not certainly have ſought an aſylum in London, and ſtill leſs have attempted to write in this country, if I had been under a neceſſity of concealing or diſguiſing the truths of my religion.



PREFACE

PREFACE

TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

BEFORE I publiſhed this edition, I wiſhed to know the obſervations which had been made on the former; and I am happy to find that the inaccuracies obſerved in it are neither many nor eſſential. I have endeavoured to correct ſuch as appeared to be well founded. The moſt important is that which follows. On the information of Mr. Duroſoy, and other gentlemen, I have ſaid that the rector of Sept Sceaux was killed in the pulpit. A letter received from a friend of his in Flanders, when this work was in the preſs and nearly finiſhed, informs me that the fact has been miſrepreſented: he was obliged ſo fly, but was not murdered. Of the reſt the reader may judge by the following: I had ſaid that in the firſt aſſembly there were about thirty biſhops. The truth is, that there were fifty biſhops deputed to that aſſembly, but that thirty only became active members of it: the reſt either did not take their ſeats, or retired very early from the meeting. There are ten or a dozen other inaccuracies, which though trifling, I did not think it proper to neglect, and I beg leave here to expreſs my obligations to the gentle-

men

men who have been ſo kind as to communicate them to me. But if vanity could have any ſhare in a work of this nature, I have ſome reaſon to be proud of my ſucceſs in the precautions I took to avoid any conſiderable miſtake. For though I took notes of all the remarks which I heard, and ſeveral of my friends were ſo obliging as to collect for me ſuch as they heard from others, I do not find that in the whole volume there are twenty lines which it is neceſſary to change, if I except the catalogue of the prieſts who ſuffered; and I had the precaution to inform my readers that this liſt could not be relied on, and that it could only be made accurate by the remarks of my various readers. I have endeavoured to make the beſt uſe in my power of the obſervations which have been ſent me. If in ſome of thoſe remarks I differ in opinion from the gentlemen who made them, after having heard their reaſons for making them, they will not refuſe me the liberty of giving mine in ſupport of my opinion.

2. The Egyptian darkneſs, which involved the triumphal entry of D'Expilly, the firſt of the intruded biſhops, has given offence to ſome readers. They have candidly declared that they could give no credit to a fact ſo extraordinary, unleſs they had ſeen it with their own eyes; and in this aſſertion ſeem to aſſume a ſuperior degree of critical diſcernment. I am perfectly conſcious that if ſome men be weakly credulous, there are others not leſs weakly obſtinate in incredulity. The man of underſtanding will believe nothing on light grounds, and when the queſtion is of an extraordinary fact, he will examine with care, and weigh with attention the authority on which it reſts. I flattered myſelf that my readers would have given me credit for ſuch precautions in relating an uncommon event, of which a whole town can witneſs the truth. As this credit has not been given to me, I will here inform them what thoſe precautions were.

Mr.

Mr. Coroller, one of the moſt reſpectable paſtors of the dioceſe of St. Paul de Leon, firſt informed me of the extraordinary circumſtances attending the public entry of D'Expilly. I told him a fact of this nature muſt be authenticated by his hand-writing, which he gave me. Not yet ſatisfied, I applied to other clergymen of the ſame dioceſe; they all corroborated the account of Mr. Coroller; and added, that the whole town of Quimper could bear teſtimony to its truth as well as they; and confirmed it by their ſignature. I have alſo by me another account of the ſame event given me by Mr. Coſſoul, which terminates with theſe words:—Theſe anecdotes are well known and notorious, and will at any time be certified by Meſſrs. Coſſoul and D'Archantel, canons and vicars-general; and by Mr. Coroller, rector of St. Matthew's, formerly vice official; and by all the inhabitants of Quimper, clergy and laity. I was not yet ſatisfied: I carried my precaution ſo far, as to read to theſe gentlemen the article I had drawn up from their memoirs, and aſked them, if that was preciſely the idea they entertained of the ſubject. They anſwered me unanimouſly, *that is preciſely the fact; it is what we ſaw with our own eyes, and what the whole town of Quimper ſaw, as well as we.* If there be ſtill ſome ſo incredulous as not to believe it, I can only deſire them to have recourſe to the common criterion of hiſtory and moral evidence.

It may however be proper to obſerve to theſe critics, that an affectation of ſuperior underſtanding in this caſe is miſapplied. The facts we have recounted are perfectly natural. Moiſture rarified by heat will riſe in vapour, and again condenſed by cold will naturally fall in a miſt, or in rain. But becauſe the event is natural, is that a reaſon that it ſhould not be mentioned? It happened at the moment which the intruder and his aſſociates had appointed for their triumph, for the diſplay of all their pomp and joy at their ſuppoſed victory over the old church,

church, and it involved the whole ſcene in a melancholy gloom. Another circumſtance makes it deſerving of a place in hiſtory; it is this: in a country and at a ſeaſon little ſubject to ſtorms, it did not ceaſe to thunder and lighten during the whole time that the election of this intruder continued.

If the extraordinary concurrences of theſe natural events ſhould be conſidered as marks of the diſpleaſure of God, I do not think that it argues any weakneſs on the part of the hiſtorian. For the philoſopher will not ſay that it is not in the power of the Deity to expreſs his anger by any other means, than ſuch as ſurpaſs the common laws of nature. What, for example, is more natural than thunder and lightning? yet when we ſee the impious man with blaſphemy in his mouth, the tyrant in the act of perpetrating the moſt horrid murder, or the wretch with perjury on his lips, ſtruck dead with lightning, he muſt have more than an ordinary degree of blindneſs who does not acknowledge in ſuch puniſhments the finger of God, though the means he makes uſe of to ſhew his power be perfectly natural. Again, in the paſſions of the revoluționiſts, their rage, hatred and revenge, there is certainly nothing ſupernatural: yet when we ſee them turn their arms againſt each other, when we ſee a Briſſot, a Fauchet, a Philip of Orleans, fall victims to the rage of thoſe very men whom they had inſtructed in the arts of rebellion, and had been the inſtruments of their murders, crimes and impiety, is it poſſible not to admire the diſpenſations of providence, which is equally viſible in the pikes of ruffians, and in the rod of Aaron. No: it is not ſuperiority, it is weakneſs of underſtanding to ſay, that without miracles God cannot make known his wrath. It is the connection, the relation of natural events to the circumſtances, in which they happen, that diſcovers their meaning; and if ever ſuch circumſtances did occur, it

was

was moſt certainly in the election and introduction of this firſt of the falſe and conſtitutional biſhops.

The concurrence of theſe natural phenomena made a very different impreſſion on the mind of Mr. Beollermann, a Calviniſt, who was the firſt man that voted for Mr. D'Expilly. They appeared to him evident indications of the wrath of God, and of the protection of his church: he became a catholic, and died in the profeſſion of that faith.

3. Objections of a different nature have been made to this work, of which it is neceſſary to take ſome notice. It has been ſaid that the atrocities committed in the *Place Dauphine* have been admitted upon too ſlender authority. I anſwer firſt that they are admitted on the authority of the author whom I cite, and whoſe very words I had the precaution to copy, without altering a ſyllable of them. 2. That the ſaid author names the perſons concerned in this tragical hiſtory, which he could hardly be ſuppoſed to do, unleſs he was certain of the facts. I might have added, that the ſame account of theſe horrid tranſactions had been given by other authors, and by many of the Paris journals, with fewer particulars indeed, for fear of exaſperating the murdering ſpirit of the jacobins. I was alſo not ignorant that my author had extracted his account from the two firſt chapters of the *Political Annales* by Mr. Girtonner, a work well known. On theſe authorities alone I might have relied, and have thought myſelf abundantly juſtified in admitting the account of thoſe cruelties into my hiſtory under the precautions I had taken.

In fact, what anſwer is made to them? Some gentlemen tell me that they were in Paris at the time, and heard nothing of thoſe cruelties. I may ſay that I alſo was in Paris at that time, and did hear of them from perſons of reſpect-

reſpectable character. But you were in Paris at the time! it may be ſo ; but were you not confined in a garret, or buried in a cellar, or at beſt with ſome friend, who for fear of drawing on himſelf the vengeance of the aſſaſſins, could not in common prudence either inform himſelf or you of what was then paſſing in every ſtreet in Paris? It is alſo to be obſerved that the greateſt part of thoſe who except againſt the authorities I have brought, never heard of any executions whatever in the Place Dauphine, though it be an undoubted fact, and inconteſtibly proved, that the *Place Dauphine* was the ſcene of the moſt horrid crimes committed in that day of horrors. The negative arguments of theſe critics can have little weight in oppoſition to the poſitive teſtimony of credible witneſſes, eſpecially in the confuſion which then reigned at Paris.

But there are other reaſons which demonſtrate the weakneſs of theſe criticiſms. The Counteſs Perignan and Madam de Chevres were perſons well known: they had relations, friends, connections and dependents. If thoſe ladies be ſtill alive, or if they died in any other manner than that deſcribed in the *Place Dauphine*, it is very extraordinary that no proof has been hitherto brought of their being ſtill alive, or of their dying elſewhere. It was the intereſt of the jacobins to refute the imputation of ſo much cruelty, and to bring ſome poſitive proof of its falſehood. Yet hitherto nothing of this nature has been done.

The ſame reaſoning holds equally good with reſpect to that monſter Philip, who brought the heads of his father and mother to the clubs of the jacobins. The man is named, and the place of his habitation pointed out. If his father or mother be ſtill living, or if they died in any other manner, nothing can be more eaſy than to prove the falſehood of the whole account. It has been now publiſhed

for

for more than twelve months, and has been repeatedly printed both in England and other countries, and it is certainly the intereſt of the jacobins to clear themſelves from the aſperſion of a parricide and apotheoſis which inſpire every feeling breaſt with horror inexpreſſible. Yet nothing of this nature has been done; no poſitive, no direct proof whatever has been brought to ſhew the falſehood of the narration. The moſt ſanguine jacobins content themſelves by appealing to the feelings of human nature, and aſk if a crime ſo unnatural can poſſibly deſerve credit? The tyger in the foreſt has a better right to appeal to the feelings of human nature than thoſe jacobins: cannibals may appeal to thoſe feelings, which may not be quite obliterated in their breaſts; but men, who have once thoroughly imbibed the principles of the jacobin clubs, and have entered into confederacy with aſſaſſins, into whom they have inſpired their enthuſiaſtic thirſt of blood, are perfectly incapable of every ſentiment, of every feeling of humanity.

4. Partiality is another objection which has been made to the following hiſtory. I have been told that ſeveral of thoſe whoſe names only I have recorded, deſerved no leſs the eulogium of an hiſtorian than many of thoſe on whom I have beſtowed the higheſt panegyric. In anſwer to this remark, I muſt beg thoſe critics to obſerve, that truth only is to guide the hiſtorian's pen. I have beſtowed praiſe on thoſe, who from perſonal knowledge of their characters, or from unqueſtionable authority, I knew deſerved it. Others may have deſerved it as well; but till I was informed of their merit, I could not record it. Indiſcriminate praiſe is real cenſure. The poet may indulge his fancy, the hiſtorian muſt adhere to truth.

In the courſe of this hiſtory it gave me ſingular pleaſure that I could with truth and certainty bear teſtimony to the ſuperior merit of men of every profeſſion, and in every ſtate

ſtate of life, even of different religious perſuaſions, and it was not a little flattering to receive the compliments of many good judges for my impartiality on that ſubject. Others however have obſerved or thought that they obſerved a predilection, a partiality for the members of a late diſtinguiſhed body of men, which is now no more. I will not deny that in a long courſe of intimacy with many diſtinguiſhed members of that body, I have been impreſſed with a high eſteem of the order, and of the members who compoſed it. But my eſteem for them does not make me blind to the merits of others. Mr. Martin D'Auch was a layman, and is pointed out as an example of ſuperior virtue: in the ſame light are mentioned F. Dorothee a capucin friar, F. Eliſæus a Carmelite, the Rochefoucaults biſhops, J. Chantebel a countryman, Mr. Gebert an Eudiſte, Mr. Barard a Sulpician, Mr. de Raſtignac an abbé. Due homage is paid to the virtues of theſe men, which every one who knew them, knew they deſerved: and if to theſe diſtinguiſhed characters I have added the name of P. L'Enfant, a Jeſuit, it is becauſe I intimately knew him, and know that his merits were above my praiſe. But if I eſteemed and praiſed the virtues of P. L'Enfant, I was not blind to the character of Cerutti, alſo a Jeſuit, whom I have painted as a demon, becauſe he had all the impiety of one. Is this a proof of partiality? Poiret was an oratorian, and his character is drawn with the ſtricteſt attention to truth and facts. Is the care I have taken to vindicate the body to which he belonged, from the infamy of this well known intruder, alſo an inſtance of partiality?

In ſpeaking of ſome of the victims immolated by jacobin fury, I have mentioned the irregularity of their former conduct. The fact is true: and I think it was my duty to do ſo. I write a hiſtory, not a panegyric: though even in a panegyric I ſhould think it my duty never

never to deviate from the ſtrict laws of veracity, which I ſhould have done, if I had repreſented the life and conduct even of a martyr as always regulated by the ſevere precepts of religious and moral duty, which I knew to have been ſtained with conſiderable irregularities. To the well diſpoſed reader facts of this nature are a ſubject of edification, not of ſcandal. The goodneſs, the mercy of divine providence is never more conſpicuous, than when we ſee it raiſe men, whoſe weakneſs or irregularities ſeemed to promiſe a different event, to a degree of fortitude and zeal, which enables them to triumph over the cut-throats, the enemies of God and of religion. He, who from human reſpects is capable of ſuppreſſing ſuch examples, is not qualified to write hiſtory. To fear to ſpeak the truth, is the greateſt fault of which an hiſtorian can be guilty.

Laſtly, the great and flagrant proof of my partiality is this: I have attributed to the zeal, the charity and beneficence of Mr. Wilmot and Mr. Burke, the contribution raiſed for the ſupport of the poor exiled clergy, and have not ſo much as mentioned the name of a gentleman, to whoſe compaſſion and induſtry the origin and progreſs of that plan is ſaid to be owing. The accuſation is of a grievous nature: if well founded, it is not partiality, it is ingratitude, it is injuſtice, of which I am guilty. The reader will pardon me, if I take more than ordinary pains to wipe away ſo foul an aſperſion.

I anſwer therefore, firſt, that on my arrival in London I received many civilities from the gentleman alluded to, and ſhould have taken particular pleaſure in making a public acknowledgement of thoſe favours, if I had thought myſelf at liberty to do ſo: but in writing this hiſtory, I had made it a rule to mention the names of ſuch only as had taken the moſt public and conſpicuous part in the tranſ-

tranſactions: to have named all, whoſe charity contributed to the relief of the clergy, would have filled a volume.

Secondly, Both before and after the publication of the French edition, I made the moſt minute and ſcrupulous enquiries concerning the origin and progreſs of the ſubſcription, from all thoſe who were capable of giving me the moſt accurate information. The reſult of which was, that from every quarter I was aſſured that the idea of a ſubſcription originated with Mr. Wilmot, and owed its ſucceſs to the eloquence of Mr. Burke, and to the generous diſpoſition of the Engliſh nation, which only wants to be informed of diſtreſs to fly to its relief.

Fortunately for me the gentleman in queſtion has too many titles to the eſteem of his friends, and to public applauſe, to ſtand in need of flattery to increaſe his reputation; and too much virtue to covet praiſe. If then in ſpeaking on this ſubject I have not paid him the homage due to his merit, I am perſuaded that he will readily excuſe the miſtake. It was unavoidable. It was not poſſible for me to imagine that he was the firſt author of the ſubſcription, as he is not even a member of the committee appointed to receive and diſburſe the charity. The committee therefore is chargeable with the firſt injuſtice, if any be committed.

But the well known modeſty of this gentleman is a demonſtration that this complaint does not come from him. It originates in the indiſcretion of his friends and admirers, which has compelled me to ſay ſo much in my own juſtification, and to vindicate my writings from the aſperſion of ingratitude, partiality and injuſtice.



THE

THE HISTORY OF THE *CLERGY* DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.



PART I.

Origin and Progreſs of the Perſecution of the French Clergy, during the firſt Aſſembly, commonly called the National Aſſembly.

ONE hundred and thirty-eight biſhops and archbiſhops, ſixty-four thouſand curates * or vicars, driven from their ſees, their pariſhes, for refuſing to take an oath, by which they muſt have incurred the guilt of perjury and apoſtacy; all the clergy, all the religious of both ſexes robbed of the patrimony of the Church, and forced from their retreats; the temples of the Lord converted into capacious priſons for the reception of his miniſters; three hundred of his prieſts maſſacred in one day, in one city; all the other paſtors who remained faithful to their God, either ſacrificed or baniſhed their country, ſeeking through a thouſand dangers a refuge among foreign nations: ſuch is the ſpectacle exhibited to the world by the French revolution. I will trace theſe events to their real cauſes, I will follow the progreſs of this cataſtrophe, not with a view to excite the indignation of mankind againſt its authors, but to guard other nations againſt the admiſſion of the like horrors. Object of this work.

* The term—curate or *curè*, is uſed by the French to ſignify vicar or pariſh prieſt.

Character of the Roman Catholic religion.

France had embraced the Roman Catholic religion before it ſubmitted to a kingly government. The ancient biſhopricks of Lyons, Vienne, Arles, Rheims, Sens and Tours, were eſtabliſhed before Clovis united the Gauls. Such is the nature of this religion, that thoſe who profeſs it muſt renounce the principles of rebellion and immorality, or become apoſtates. Eſſentially friendly to order, to peace, and to the happineſs of mankind in this world, it teaches its followers to conſider as a heinous crime every violation of the laws, every violence offered to the authorities eſtabliſhed for the government of empires. Originally deſigned to guide man into the paths of eternal ſalvation, it is equally an enemy to the errors that ſeduce, and to the vices that diſhonor him. Such a religion would naturally find enemies in a revolution which was to preach up inſurrection as the moſt ſacred duty, which was to let looſe all the paſſions, which could find nothing but ſlavery near the throne, nothing but ſuperſtition near the altar.

Philoſophiſts and politicians enemies to it.

The ſeeds of this revolution had long been ſown in France by a ſet of men, who under the ſpecious name of philoſophers had divided among themſelves the taſk of overturning the throne and the altars. At firſt they were not abſolutely averſe to all religious worſhip. They practiſed none themſelves, but, thinking it neceſſary to the people, they determined to give them ſuch a religion as beſt ſuited their own ambitious views. They were ſenſible of the incompatibility of the catholic ſyſtem with the principles of a government which they intended to ſubſtitute to the exiſting monarchy.

At the head of theſe pretended political philoſophers, intent on the affair of a revolution, appeared the elder Mirabeau, poſſeſſed of talents ſufficient to make him a great

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great man, but ſullied with the vices which form a wicked one, and above all remarkable for that daring inſolence which finiſhes the character of a Catiline, if united with martial courage, in which alone he was deficient. From the opening of the ſtates-general, which took place at Verſailles on the fifth of May, 1789, he had delivered his opinion on the neceſſity of overthrowing the eſtabliſhed religion, if their projects were to be carried into execution. *If you wiſh for a revolution*, ſaid he publicly, *you muſt baniſh the catholic religion from France.*

This obſervation of a grand conſpirator was a valuable homage paid to the catholic religion. It ſhewed that he was convinced that it is a firm ſupport of empires, which ſhould be deſtroyed before he proceeded to the attack of government itſelf. But the atrocious politician would have reaſoned otherwiſe, had he been better acquainted with this religion. He would have ſeen that though it can never favor the revolt of ſubjects, ſtill it will ſubſiſt amidſt all poſſible variations, and under every form of government compatible with the laws of juſtice and the happineſs of mankind. He would have ſeen that if it attached the French nation to their King, it equally ſecured the fidelity of the catholic ſubjects of Switzerland, of England, and of Venice, to the government of their country. He would have known that, incapable of a criminal interference in the concerns of the civil eſtabliſhment, it taught its followers to ſubmit to the new laws, rather than perpetuate ſtrife and contention. He would have foreſeen that a faithleſs project againſt the altar, would rather create obſtacles than afford means to effect his civil revolution; that the heart naturally revolts, when violence is offered to conſcience.

Mirabeau diſcovered his error, but too late, when he found the reſiſtance of the prieſthood to his plan of extirpating the catholic religion in France, Alſo Atheiſts.

He ſaid to Camus, in the ſtrong language which was peculiar to him; *your confounded conſtitution of the clergy will deſtroy that which we are forming for ourſelves.* This was another miſtake; but for which we may give him credit. He foreſaw that it would be neceſſary to pour out torrents of blood to overcome the reſiſtance of the clergy, and he ſhrunk from the horrid ſcene. Men of a more ſanguinary complexion were to be found in France. Mirabeau was a politician; but there was another ſect of philoſophers diſtinguiſhed by their impiety, and a noted hatred of chriſtianity. Theſe puny deſcendants of Bayle and Voltaire, would rather have ſuffered a hundred Neros on the throne, than one prieſt at the altar. Their whole merit conſiſted in the hatred of Jeſus Chriſt, and the only triumph they ſought was the deſtruction of all his temples.

Among theſe odious ſophiſts we ſaw a Condorcet, that mongrel of Lametrie, of Hobbes, and of other atheiſts; and a Ceruti, whoſe laſt words, applauded by the aſſembled legiſlators, were thoſe of an expiring demon: *The only regret I find on quitting the world, is, that I leave a religion on earth.* A hundred others we know from the apoſtate Chabot, who only waited for a favourable opportunity to move in the Jacobin club the extermination of every prieſt of every religion, down to the infamous Dupont, who anticipated in idea the honor of mounting the tribune of the national aſſembly, to pronounce that there is no God in the world.

Œconomiſts. Theſe enemies of God and of his Chriſt were joined by another ſect known by the name of œconomiſts. Theſe were diſciples of Turgot, had ſpent thirty years in harraſſing France under a pretence of reforming its government, by improving its finances by projects which ruined its monarchy and exhauſted its treaſures. The *net produce* was the watch-word of thoſe contempt-

contemptible ſophiſts; and the net produce of their calculations ended in the ſubverſion of chriſtianity, and the introduction of a religion which they ſtyled natural; as the *net produce* of their ſpeculations to enrich the nation, terminated in robbing the altar and perſecuting the prieſts.

Diſpoſitions of the different orders of citizens with reſpect to religion.

The nobility of Paris too generally ſupported the doctrine of thoſe ſects, becauſe they had long adopted the diſſolution of their manners. They abandoned the churches to the people, inſtead of encouraging them by their example to frequent them; ſervants mimicked the vices of their maſters, and the contagion ſoon ſpread to the humble cottage of the peaſant. The citizen, the merchant, and his clerk, all affected to be witty on religious ſubjects, and miniſtry conſidered only as fruits of national induſtry thoſe productions, which were deſtroying the religion and morals of the people. The magiſtrates, who were themſelves not free from infection, winked at the infraction of the laws, and ſuffered the poiſon to ſpread through all ranks of the people. France was ſinking into an abyſs of impiety and corruption.

The clergy ſtrove in vain to ſtem the torrent; they were not all exempt from the vices of the age. It muſt be ſaid to the glory of God, from whom they derived all their influence, the clergy did not promiſe all the fortitude, of which they have ſince given ſo brilliant an example. This order of men may be ranked in two claſſes: the one little acquainted with the duties of the prieſthood, bore the name and part of the eccleſiaſtical dreſs; too diſſipated to be confined to the ſervice of the altar, they were not inactive in ſoliciting the favor of courtiers who had the nomination to church

church preferment. They were a ſcandal to religion, and diſhonoured its cauſe inſtead of ſupporting it.

The other claſs ſtill more numerous, was compoſed of prieſts employed in the care of ſouls and of the eccleſiaſtical functions. This was, properly ſpeaking, the body of the clergy. They were generally well informed of their duties; if ſome of them panted after the riches of the church, the greater number were ſeriouſly attached to the faith, and very few ſeemed diſpoſed to betray it. This whole body of men was to be ſwept away, before philoſophy could hope to ſecure its triumph. With this view the leaders and the adepts of all the ſects were concerting meaſures to overturn the throne and the altar in their private clubs, their lodges, and their nocturnal aſſemblies. The meeting of the ſtates-general called them all forth to ſecond the efforts of a man whom his party ſeemed to have placed about the perſon of Lewis XVI. only to forward the fall of the monarch and the loſs of religion.

This man was Necker. It has been ſaid of him that his name was heard at court becauſe he had ſported it every where elſe; that he brought to the management of the finances of a great empire, the narrow ideas of a clerk in a counting-houſe; that he aimed at the improvement of a monarchical government, by ſpreading democratical ideas through the provinces; that he loaded France with loans only to avoid freſh taxes; that he doubled the number of the commons, and ſecured the election of the moſt factious and turbulent orators, with a view to make himſelf maſter of the ſtates-general. Mr. Necker was one of that claſs of œconomiſts, who knew no other method of improving the public finances, but by robbing the church. His greateſt crime againſt religion was an attempt to reform it by introducing the opinions of Geneva. He wiſhed to dictate to the clergy, but awed by the

the learning and the authority of the biſhops, he ſought to divide and weaken them by perſecution.

First degree of perſecution.

Dreading the return to the ſtates-general of ſeveral prelates, who had not courted his favour, but who would naturally obtain the votes and intereſt of their clergy, he diſpatched into the provinces letters and meſſengers, who were directed to ſow jealouſies in the minds of the inferior clergy againſt their biſhops. Neither money nor labour was ſpared to alienate the minds of the vicars and curates from their ſuperiors. His agents promiſed every thing to the undignified prieſts, but carefully concealed from them, that they would be conſidered as perfectly uſeleſs when the epiſcopacy was ſufficiently humbled. In the veſtries of the towns and villages they delivered the moſt violent invectives againſt the riches and the pretended deſpotiſm of the biſhops; they affected a diſintereſted zeal for religion, and a feeling compaſſion for the hardſhips of the parochial clergy, who performed all the laborious functions of the miniſtry. They even went ſo far as to ſend into diſtant provinces letters, ſuppoſed to have been written by the curates of Dauphiny, and breathing the ſame ſpirit of inſubordination and reſiſtance. It is true theſe letters were diſavowed by the pretended writers, the forgery was detected, but not till it had produced ſome effect. They repreſented in ſtrong colours the neceſſity of moving a competent proviſion for the inferior clergy, and their deſpair of carrying the queſtion if any conſiderable number of biſhops were returned to the ſtates-general. They named ſuch as would be agreeable to adminiſtration. The ſimple country curate, unable to unravel the myſterious contrivance, fell into the ſnare, and little thought that religion would be concerned in their choice of deputies. The elections were carried on with great heat and turbulence, and Necker had the ſatisfaction to ſee his party prevail in ſeveral places. Of

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three hundred eccleſiaſtics fifty biſhops were choſen: but as many of them foreſaw the dangers and difficulties to which they ſhould be expoſed, thirty only took their ſeats. Religion was now to be deſtroyed by its own miniſters, if the curates had not at length diſcovered that the deſign was to overthrow the church, not to provide for its clergy.

The clue that firſt led to this diſcovery, was the debate on the queſtion, whether the deputies ſhould vote individually, or by their reſpective bodies. If individually, the third order muſt carry every thing before it. The conſpirators now ſtrained every nerve to promote a confuſion of orders, to draw the nobility and clergy into the Houſe of Commons, where their intereſt was the ſtrongeſt, not only from the number of voters, but from their turbulent diſpoſition and factious proceedings in the galleries, which were hired into their ſervice.

Notwithſtanding the imprudent choice of eccleſiaſtical deputies, a great majority oppoſed a motion which tended to deprive them of every degree of influence in the deliberations: but now the firſt ſquadron of hired ruffians, under the directions of Mr. Necker, had reached Verſailles. During the whole of the debate, the chamber of the clergy was ſurrounded by an armed mob, whoſe cries of inſolence and defiance threatened ſtill greater violence. The curates who voted with the biſhops were inſulted and otherwiſe ill-treated. M. Juigney the archbiſhop of Paris, a prelate univerſally eſteemed for his meekneſs, his piety, and above all for his generous charity, was pelted with ſtones in the ſtreets of Verſailles. Calumnies the moſt atrocious and the moſt inapplicable to his known character, had before deprived him of the eſteem of thoſe who had lived by his alms. Other biſhops with difficulty eſcaped the ſame treatment.

Necker now experienced what was ſoon to happen to Mirabeau. His plan for uniting the three eſtates was no ſooner brought near a concluſion, than he felt the whole weight of power he had thrown into the ſcale of the commons, who now treated him with the moſt ſovereign contempt. He wrote with his own hand to the agent whom he had employed to effect this junction, conjuring him to try by all means in his power to prevent it. *It is all over*, ſaid he to another of his confidants, *all is loſt if the clergy join the commons; the commons will prevail and all is loſt.* Such were the painful ſentiments of Necker, a quarter of an hour before the confuſion of the different orders, which he had ſo ſtrenuouſly laboured to effect. He was no longer able to prevent it. The commons, after ſuffering Necker to ſettle his plans, now employed his agents and their own to play a deeper game. Their deputies, reſorting to the aſſembled clergy, begged, proteſted and intreated them, in the name of the God of peace whom they ſerved, to heal the fatal diviſions, and cloſe the breach which ſeparated them from their friends the commons. Their intreaties, their proteſtations, and their promiſes, gained over one half of the curates, who followed the impulſe of the moment, fearleſs of conſequences which they did not foreſee. They were ſoon joined by five prelates, particularly the Archbiſhops of Vienne and Bordeaux. The other biſhops and eccleſiaſtical deputies continued firm in their oppoſition to the union of the different chambers. The commons, firſt put in motion by Necker, and now no longer ſubject to his controul, carried their pretenſions ſo far, that Lewis XVI. thought his life in danger if he refuſed to accede to their propoſal. They had carried their preſumption with ſo high a hand, as to declare that they themſelves conſtituted a national aſſembly. The king recommended an union, and the nobility and biſhops obeyed. In this confuſion of the different orders, Necker

found himſelf diſappointed in his hope of governing by the commons, who no longer needed his ſupport. It required no depth of penetration to foreſee the ruin of the nobility, of the clergy, of the monarchy, and of religion.

The commons were compoſed of ſix hundred members, pretty cloſely united by the care which had been taken to make the elections fall on the philoſophic ſect, or on men without talents and without intereſt, always ready to follow the directions of a few factious leaders. The other orders conſiſted each of three hundred members. If matters were brought forward in ſeparate chambers, a decided majority of each order might be obtained by a ſingle vote. Decency would be preſerved in their deliberations, and meaſures too haſtily adopted by one chamber might be improved by the wiſdom of the other two, and no queſtion could be carried but by a majority of two eſtates. Not ſo when they were united in one chamber. A ſingle deſerter from the nobility or the clergy would ſanction the moſt violent reſolves of the popular party. Twenty-five or thirty members of the clergy owed their election to Necker's intereſt, and being prepared to wade through perjury and apoſtacy, are ſince become the heads of the new church. Revolutionary principles had been adopted by a conſiderable number of the nobility. Thus the commons commanded a decided majority, and thus monarchy and religion periſhed in France.

But truth and juſtice will not ſuffer us to conclude from hence, that the commons of France were generally enemies to the king and the clergy. What we mean to aſſert is, that the enemies of the throne and the altar, had by artifice and intrigue, ſecured the election of the worſt and the moſt ſeditious of mankind, ſuch as a Seyeys

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and a Mirabeau, the former an apoſtate from the clergy, the latter from the nobility.

There were men among the commons of a very different character, ever diſtinguiſhed by an uniform oppoſition to the meaſures of an impious cabal. A Calviniſt had the honeſty to vote for the protection of law and of juſtice in favour of the clergy. A Martin of Auch, another member of the commons, exhibited a ſtill ſtronger proof of firmneſs and intrepidity, a proof which has ſcarce been equalled in the hiſtory of the revolution of this or any other country. We think it a duty to record it here for the honor of the commons themſelves, who are too juſtly accuſed of ruining monarchy and religion.

The tennis-court of Verſailles was the ſcene of M. Martin's heroiſm. There, when the ſix hundred deputies of the third eſtate, when the apoſtates from the nobility and the clergy, in a paroxyſm of the moſt extravagant frenzy and unprovoked hoſtility againſt the king, unanimouſly held up their hands, and pronounced a ſolemn oath never to ſeparate till they had given France their conſtitution, that is, till they had given the laſt blow to monarchy and religion: at this moment and on this ſpot, Martin of Auch alone, riſing from his ſeat, his arms croſſing his breaſt, in a firm tone of voice and a determined aſpect, refuſed to hold up his hand and to pronounce the oath. When the minutes were brought to him for his ſignature, he took the pen and wrote, MARTIN OF AUCH PROTESTS.

Had the other members of the commons, who were not really wedded to the opinions of the factious ſophiſts, poſſeſſed the intrepidity of Martin of Auch, the throne and the altar would ſtill have ſubſiſted in France. But the ſtroke was given, and the clergy could not fail to

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be the victims of an aſſembly of unprincipled ruffians, who poſſeſſed all the authority, and affected to exhibit all the dignity of a national ſenate. The moſt determined patriotiſm could afford no protection to the clergy againſt the intended proſcription. Before the meeting of the ſtates, the clergy had made a ſurrender of their immunities and all their pecuniary advantages. Before the levelling ſyſtem had taken place, they ſignified to the commons the inſtructions of their conſtituents, to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate in an equal proportion with the other citizens. A few days after the reunion, the miniſter had repreſented the neceſſity of a loan of 30 millions, and the clergy offered to negotiate it on their own account. Theſe offers were afterwards increaſed, and amounted to the ſum of 400 millions, which was nearly equal to one-third of their eſtates. The aſſembly would liſten to no reſerve, but ſeized the whole.

Abolition of tythes, ſecond degree of perſecution.

On the 4th of Auguſt, the aſſembly, amidſt the din and confuſion which bore all the marks of intoxication, but which were produced by a ſpirit of hatred, frenzy, and oppreſſion, decreed that all the tithes of the church were redeemable. Five days after the Orleans party haſtened to Verſailles, and demanded the heads of eleven biſhops and ſixteen curates, if the tithes were not ſuppreſſed without any conſideration. On the eleventh, liſts of proſcription were handed about, and the tithes were aboliſhed. One of the reſpectable curates, who had been gained over by the magnificent promiſes of the commons, when this decree paſſed, cried out; "Was it "then with a view to cut our throats, or to oblige us to "periſh for want, that you conjured us in the name of "the God of peace, and of brotherly love to you, to "unite ourſelves to you?" An indignant ſneer was the only anſwer given to his ſimplicity.

On

On the 29th of September, another decree paſſed for robbing the churches in the form of an invitation, to ſend the ſilver ornaments to the mint, and a ſacrilegious profanation of the holy vaſes enſued.

In proportion as the altars were ſtripped, the meaſure of calumnious accuſations ſwelled againſt the prieſts. They were repreſented as objects of hatred and contempt. The runners of the clubs, the ballad-ſingers and the journaliſts, painted them to be attached to the ariſtocracy by principle, eſſentially inimical to the third eſtate, and uniformly oppreſſive to the people. This was a groſs impoſition on mankind. The riches of three or four hundred eccleſiaſtics might create jealouſy; but there remained above forty thouſand prieſts in France who wanted even a decent maintenance. The whole property of the ſecular and regular clergy would not have afforded an annual ſtipend of forty-two pounds to each of its members. Of this body of the clergy ſixty-four thouſand vicars and curates were nearly allied by the ties of nature to the commons, whoſe implacable enemies they were repreſented to be. Their principles and all their functions required their reſidence among the lower claſſes of the people. In the villages, in the towns they acted as their comforters, their adviſers, their angels of peace; and the moſt irreligious of the ſophiſts had hitherto acknowledged the important ſervices of thoſe prieſts, who formed the body of the French clergy. It will not be denied that ſome relaxation had crept into this body, but it was abſurd to repreſent them as enemies to the people. It was well known that they conſidered the cauſe of the people as their own cauſe, and the riches of the church were their ſureſt reſource in diſtreſs. It could not be the intereſt of the people to ruin the clergy; a ſhort time has too clearly proved the reverſe. The deſign was to ſink the miniſters of religion in the opinion of the people, to deprive them of the means of obtaining their affection,

affection, by a participation of the revenues of the church; and ultimately to deprive them of the neceſſary means of ſubſiſtence.

To effect this inſidious deſign, it was judged neceſſary to efface from the minds of the people every idea of reſpect and eſteem for their paſtors. The ordinary means of calumny were inadequate to the purpoſe. Scorning to reaſon with the people, they appealed in a more forcible language to their eyes. Equally ſtrangers to morality and truth, they filled the windows of every ſhop, and every place of public reſort with caricatures, expreſſive of every vice in the prieſthood. The emblems of avarice exhibited in the moſt ridiculous colours, the lamentation of the clergy over their loſt riches, which it was high time to wreſt from them; and a greedy and ungrateful populace forgot the ſhare they had enjoyed of the treaſures of the church. They now learnt to covet them, and they ſaw no crime in transferring them from the hands of the clergy into their own. They no longer conſidered this as a theft, but as one of the rights of men. Laſcivious and obſcene prints every where exhibited the lubricity, the incontinence of prieſts, ſquandering the patrimony of the poor, in the company of the moſt abandoned proſtitutes; and the people already taught to envy the poſſeſſions of the church, now greedily adopted the ſentiments of indignation, hatred and contempt, of its moſt diſtinguiſhed members.

Impiety reaped another advantage from this ſcandalous traffic. The depravity and corruption of their own hearts not permitting them to believe in the poſſibility of the continence of the prieſts, they inſinuated to the people that the moſt infamous vices were concealed under the maſk of hypocriſy, and that they had granted their eſteem only to the ſemblance of virtue. Thoſe who made a more particular profeſſion of the evangelical counſels, were repreſented

repreſented under the emblems of the vileſt and moſt loathſome animals.

Pamphlets written in the ſtyle of Grub-ſtreet garretteers, preached the ſame doctrine to the lower claſſes of the people. The theatres reſounded with calumny, and the moſt indecent ſarcaſms againſt the principles and the practice of the clergy. The very name of prieſt became a term of ridicule and reproach, in order to extinguiſh every idea of the reſpect which their functions inſpired. The King, whoſe misfortunes increaſed with thoſe of the clergy, the King, who on the 6th of October had narrowly eſcaped the poignard of the aſſaſſin, was now led captive to his capital. On his entrance into Paris he might have obſerved how nearly his cauſe was connected with that of the church. Amidſt the inſulting outrages poured out againſt him, it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh the cry of, *Long live the nation, down with the tyrant!* while a hired mob was employed to echo, *Down with the caſſock!* This was the watch-word to enrage the people againſt the clergy, as often as they ventured to appear in public.

The clergy plundered of the remaining part of their property.

The aſſembly removing from Verſailles to Paris, in order to be nearer its murderous ſatellites, concluded from the progreſs already made by the conſpiracy that it was high time to conſummate its deſigns upon the church, by ſeizing what ſtill remained of its poſſeſſions. This meaſure was ſo evidently contrary to every principle of juſtice and common honeſty, that it was not eaſy to find a man ſo totally loſt to every ſentiment of humanity as to bring it forward. This ſecond Judas was at laſt found in the college of the apoſtles. This was Taillerand Perigord, biſhop of Autun. Lewis XVI. in naming him to a biſhopric, thought that ſo honourable a ſituation in the church, would make him put on at leaſt the appearance of thoſe virtues, which had diſtinguiſhed his reſpectable

ſpectable father. This was a fatal error in the King. Inſtead of the noble ſentiments and the hereditary virtues of his family, this Perigord of Autun poſſeſſed all the baſeneſs, all the vices of a Jew. On the 10th of October he moved for the reſumption of all the poſſeſſions of the church. Mirabeau had brought him forward as one of thoſe wretches, who have not even the appearance of honor to forfeit, he ſeconded the motion, and the diſcuſſion was opened. Terror was employed to haſten the deciſion.

Juſtice pleaded loudly by the mouths of thoſe who oppoſed the motion. In order to ſilence them, the people were aſſured that all was loſt if it did not paſs into a law. On the 20th of October, the walls of the palace royal were covered with liſts of thoſe who had oppoſed the motion, with a promiſe of a reward of *twelve hundred livres to any patriot who would put them to death.*

The aſſembly now ſat in the palace of the archbiſhop of Paris, who had been obliged to ſeek ſafety in a foreign country. On the 31ſt of October the court and the area of the palace were filled with a numerous band of ruffians, without pikes indeed, but ready for every miſchief. The Duke of la Rochefoucauld declared, that the lives of the biſhops and prieſts depended on paſſing the decree. But Mirabeau was not yet ſecure of a majority, and it was neceſſary to wait for the ſecond of November. On this memorable day at ſix in the morning, all the avenues of the palace were crowded with a lawleſs banditti armed with pikes, and threatening death to the biſhops and prieſts, if the motion was loſt. They pronounced the decree, the aſſembly agreed in the ſentence, and the poſſeſſions of the church were ſoon conſidered as the property of the nation. Changed into aſſignats, they became an object of commerce, negotiable in all the banking-houſes of France. The uſurpers ſeized the patrimony of the

the church, the temples were ſold, and under the eyes of the aſſembly the ſanctuaries were converted into ſtables and theatres. Penſions were promiſed to the incumbents, but it is well known at what price they are to be obtained.

The church ſtill poſſeſſed a more valuable treaſure in the communities more particularly dedicated to the ſervice of God. The obligation of the goſpel precepts is common to all mankind, but practices of higher perfection are reſerved for her choſen people. A great number of monaſteries were filled with men of this latter deſcription, whoſe whole duty it was to ſerve God, by the practice of the evangelical counſels, by the contempt of riches, by a dereliction of the pleaſures of this world, and by the abnegation of their own wills. This was a kind of luxury of chriſtian virtue. Theſe men may be ſaid to have added the brighteſt gem to the ſplendor of the church. To the prayers of theſe fervent ſouls ſhe owed regular ſupport; they had furniſhed many learned, many zealous defenders of the faith; and the parochial clergy ever found them ready to aſſiſt them in the miniſtry of the word, and in all their functions. Impiety itſelf had not denied that religious orders had rendered conſiderable ſervice to the ſtate, by clearing and cultivating the land, by the ſuccours they afforded to the provinces, the cities, boroughs and villages, many of which owed their origin, and the ſtate of cultivation, to the foundation of monaſteries; and by their learning, which they alone had preſerved during the dark ages. It is too true that a degree of relaxation had found admiſſion into ſome of theſe eſtabliſhments, but ſtill ſome of them preſerved the ſpirit of their inſtitution. The nuns were every where fervent as the angels, pure as the heavenly lamb, to whoſe ſervice they were devoted.

The

Abolition of religious orders, the third degree of perfecution.

The Church wiſhed to reform the religious orders, which had fallen from their primitive fervor, and to encourage the reſt in their progreſs towards the attainment of chriſtian perfection. Diſbelievers knew the high value that was ſet on theſe holy eſtabliſhments, they knew that they were conſidered as outworks of ſome ſtrength, which muſt be carried, before an effectual impreſſion could be made on the body of the place. Their deſtruction became an object of importance to the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy. The example of former enemies had taught them that theſe muſt be ſtormed before they attempted a practicable breach in the faith.

A lawyer of the name of Treillard put himſelf at the head of the aſſailants. He propoſed the ſuppreſſion of all religious orders, and the abolition of monaſtic vows. The clergy ſaw the tendency of a meaſure, boldly brought forward in a moſt chriſtian empire. They ſaw ſtill more clearly the tendency of a torrent of blaſphemies, which was poured forth in the courſe of the diſcuſſion. Silence would now be a crime, and the biſhop of Nancy demanded in reparation of theſe blaſphemies, a public acknowledgment that the Roman Catholic religion was the religion of the ſtate. The Jacobins all inimical to the clergy and to the church, occupied the left ſide of the houſe. By theſe the biſhop's amendment was received as the votaries of Mahomet would have received it. The motion was often renewed during this ſeſſion; it was ſeconded by Dom Gerle, a monk, either weak enough, or wicked enough, to quit his cell in conſequence of the advice of a pretended prophetеſs of the name of Labrouſſe. She foretold that in evidence of her miſſion to reform the church, ſhe ſhould be ſeen ſitting near the ſun, and crowned with glory. Dom Gerle had not thought it neceſſary to wait the event of the prophecy to take his ſeat among the Jacobins. Equally inſpired, but perhaps

perhaps leſs honeſt than Labrouſſe, his conſcience was not inacceſſible to remorſe. On the twelfth of April he made his motion in favor of the Catholic religion. The Jacobins were ſurpriſed; but a precipitate negative might awaken the zeal of the people. The diſcuſſion was put off till the next day, when it was decreed, that the aſſembly *neither has, nor can have any power to exerciſe a juriſdiction over the conſciences, or religious opinions of other men*; that its attachment to the Roman Catholic religion *cannot be called in doubt*; that the *majeſty of religion, and the profound reſpect due to it would not permit it to become the ſubject of deliberation*, and that on theſe grounds the aſſembly waving all diſcuſſion on the preſent motion, would paſs to the order of the day. The biſhop of Uſez roſe to enter his proteſt on the part of his conſtituents and of the clergy, againſt this evaſive decree. But it was received with applauſe by the Jacobins, who conſidered it a maſter-piece of policy. The members of the right ſide ſaw it in a very different light. They called a ſeparate meeting at the Capuchins, where they ſigned a declaration of their ſentiments and their conduct, in favor of religion; but they were ſoon diſperſed by a gang of armed ruffians, and the liſt of the ſubſcribers became a liſt of proſcription.

The motion of the biſhop of Nancy met not with better ſucceſs. It was negatived by a great majority, amidſt hiſſes and groans, and the moſt inſulting menaces, and the aſſembly paſſed to the diſcuſſion of that which had been brought forward by Treillard. In vain did the clergy proteſt: a decree was paſſed, enacting as a conſtitutional article, that monaſtic vows were contrary to law; that the orders and congregations of regulars where ſuch vows were made, were and ſhould remain ſuppreſſed in France, nor ſhould any others ever be tolerated; that the individuals of either ſex, who were confined in cloiſters, were at full liberty to return into the world.

The

The ſolemnity of theſe vows was derived only from the formal approbation of the church. Now theſe legiſlators might be aſked, by what authority they reprobated an inſtitution always conſidered as holy in the catholic church. If the eſtabliſhments were put out of the protection of the law, what right had they to forbid the ſubject to conſecrate himſelf to the ſervice of God in the manner he thought beſt, provided he in other reſpects obſerved the laws common to other ſubjects: but theſe legiſlators who had decreed the rights of men in a ſtate of nature, were leſs anxious to preſerve their rights in a ſtate of ſociety, and ſtill leſs of men in a religious ſtate. A general apoſtacy would beſt promote the ſpeedy ſale of their houſes and eſtates. The intention of the philoſophers was to aboliſh, and degrade the holy profeſſion. They had long repreſented the monaſtic virtues as the offſpring of deſpair and violence; that, if the gates were once thrown open, the cloiſters would ſoon be emptied. To convince the people that they had not been miſtaken, the very next day after the decree had paſſed, the public walks of the Palais Royal were thronged with the women of the town, dreſſed up in the habits of nuns, who, under this pious diſguiſe, exerciſed all their meretricious arts to juſtify the calumnious imputation. Heaven defeated the malicious deſign, and the ſhame fell on thoſe from whom theſe infamous creatures declared they had received the religious habit, and a ſum of thirty livres to play, what they called their farce.

The conduct of the nuns was a ſtriking contraſt to the ſtory of this farce. The gates of their cloiſters were now thrown open, but they remained ſequeſtered in their cells, their fervor redoubled, and their fortitude excited the admiration of mankind.

Very different was the conduct of the monks. The number of apoſtates among them was great. But a compariſon

pariſon between the deſerters, and thoſe who remained faithful to their vocation, afforded a juſtification of the religious ſtate. The former had long ceaſed to obſerve their rule. On the other hand, all thoſe who had been conſtant in the practice of religious obſervances, rejected with horror the offered licence to retract their vows. It is worthy obſervation that the ſtricter orders, ſuch as the Carthuſians, had few deſerters. Thoſe who had retired ſtill farther from all worldly connections, in the convents of La Trappe and Sept-Fons, accepted of their liberty only to carry edification into other countries, where they erected new cells, and continued to practiſe their wonted auſterities. In the eſtimation of ſound philoſophy, this difference between the deſerter and the perſevering monk, was a deciſive apology for a religious life. Nothing is more evident than that the example of one man, who remains conſtantly attached to a profeſſion, all the duties of which he has faithfully diſcharged, will prove more in favor of that profeſſion, than can be proved againſt it by the daſtardly flight of a hundred others, whoſe ignorance and whoſe vices have never ceaſed to diſhonour it ; as the martyrdom of one virtuous man, goes farther towards eſtabliſhing the internal evidence of the goſpel, than all the cavils of a hundred cowardly wretches, without honor or probity, can depoſe againſt a diſpenſation which they have never ſuffered to regulate their opinions or their conduct.

The pretended civil conſtitution of the clergy : the fourth inſtance of perſecution.

Notwithſtanding the decree which proſcribed the monaſtic life, it was ſtill true that the Roman Catholic religion did actually ſubſiſt in France. The biſhops and the parochial clergy had to lament the propagation of the moſt daring blaſphemies; but they were not called upon to approve them. The church had loſt the aſſiſtance of a great number of religious men, who zealouſly co-operated with the country curates;

curates; but theſe were not yet driven from their livings. The faithful had no longer an opportunity to ſanctify their ſouls, by the practice of the evangelical counſels in religious houſes; but they were at liberty to cultivate every domeſtic virtue, they might preſerve their faith in all its purity, and they might learn their duties from the mouths of legitimate paſtors; but the triumph of the conſpirators againſt Jeſus Chriſt and his diſciples was incomplete. They had robbed the church of its patrimony; but they knew that true religion is totally independent of the precious ornaments of the ſanctuary. The miniſters of the goſpel, diveſted of the poſſeſſions and the cares of this world, might by the acquiſition of virtue enforce that authority which ſanctifies mankind, and attaches them more ſtrongly to their duties towards God and their legitimate ſovereigns. The French people were miſled, but they might again open their eyes. The generality had not been wearied of religion. Sophiſtry and impiety had infected a great number in every claſs of citizens, but ſtill the French people in general were ſincerely attached to the Catholic religion. Nothing could reconcile them to the political revolution but the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that no change ſhould be made in its doctrine and its worſhip. They muſt be deceived or they will remain catholics.

The authors and the object of the pretended civil conſtitution of the clergy.

Hypocriſy was not the only vice imputed to the aſſembly. This was now ſucceſsfully employed by Camus and his brother barriſters, Lanjuinais, Treillard and Martineau. Theſe lawyers, and eſpecially the firſt, had long been in the management of the temporal concerns of the clergy, had conducted the conteſts that had ariſen on the collation of benefices, had been invited by intereſt to ſtudy ſome part of the laws, the diſcipline and the doctrine of the church. The man who is a chriſtian or a divine, only as intereſt directs, will from the ſame motive eaſily become

become a heretic or an atheiſt. Theſe theological lawyers knew that every thing was cloſely connected and combined in the catholic church, that ſhe is incapable of compounding with error; that ſhe teaches no truths which may be ſacrificed for the preſervation of the fundamental articles of her belief; that to her, as to the ſpirit of all truth, the ſpirit of concealed error, and of avowed hereſy, are equally irreconcileable; that if her doctrine could be proved erroneous in a ſingle inſtance, ſhe muſt loſe the ſupport on which reſted the authority of her deciſions, and muſt ſoon witneſs the total overthrow of that building, of which it is written, that the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it. But then they knew that in this chain of the divine laws and oracles, many links eſcaped the obſervation of the people, though they were compoſent parts of a ſyſtem which embraced the whole of the catholic doctrine. They had introduced a material alteration in the form of their government, and the people naturally attached to its kings, had ſubmitted to the new conſtitution, becauſe it preſerved the name and appearance of monarchy in the perſon of Lewis XVI. They concluded, that they might take the ſame liberty with the doctrine and the laws of the church, if they left the name and the appearance of its public worſhip.

This project underwent a long diſcuſſion in the committee, which the aſſembly was pleaſed to call Eccleſiaſtical, that was chiefly compoſed of lay attornies. The ſeven biſhops and prieſts who for form ſake were admitted into this committee, retired with horror, when they diſcovered the nature of the deep-laid plot. There remained one or two apoſtates, ſuch as d'Expilly, who were to reap the firſt fruits of the ſchiſm. From this heterogeneous collection of lawyers and divines iſſued at length that code, which under the denomination of the civil conſtitution of the clergy, was to fill up the meaſure

ſure of impiety, by baniſhing the catholic religion from France.

The clergy oppoſe it.

No ſooner was the bill printed than it was evident to every impartial obſerver, that under the ſpecious pretence of reforming religion, was concealed a ſettled plan to deſtroy it. This new conſtitutioned church no more reſembled the church of Jeſus Chriſt, than the conſtitutional monarchy did that of Clovis, of Charlemagne, or of Henry IV. The French clergy did not long remain ſilent ſpectators of ſo monſtrous an innovation. Viewing with horror and indignation the approach of ſchiſm and hereſy, which were to be eſtabliſhed by law, the biſhops and a great majority of their clergy could not help crying out; "What! "We have not then done enough by ſacrificing all our "poſſeſſions, all our privileges, all the riches of our temples; we are called upon to go one ſtep farther, by renouncing the religion of which we are the miniſters! "We muſt put on the maſk to deceive the people, by "perſuading them that their religion is in no danger, "while they are treading the crooked paths of error and "impiety. To you we will ſpeak our ſentiments; we "have ſubmitted to the loſs of our fortunes without reſiſtance and without complaint; but if this bill, which "is an open violation of all that is held ſacred among "men, and an unprovoked attack on the ſpiritual intereſts of the people committed to our care, ſhould ever "paſs into a law, we take the liberty to declare to you, "that here our ſubmiſſion ends. You ſhall find that we "are not aſhamed of the goſpel, and we ſhall never "ceaſe to repeat what our conſciences forcibly preſs upon "us, that it is better to obey God than men."

Defects and heterodoxy of the conſtitution demonſtrated by the clergy.

This early oppoſition was ſoon followed by a profuſion of pamphlets, paſtoral letters and writings in every ſhape, the manifeſt deſign of which was to prevent a decree of the

the aſſembly, or the ſanction of the king. It was remarkable that in all theſe publications the great object of religion engaged the whole attention of the clergy. Naturally attached to their king, it could not be expected that they ſhould withdraw their allegiance, till a new government, adapted to the exiſting circumſtances, replaced the ancient monarchy; but they were convinced, that nothing could juſtify a dereliction of truth and religion. The principles on which they reaſoned afforded a full conviction, that they could not admit the particular conſtitution propoſed to them, without incurring the guilt of apoſtacy, whether they were admirers of republicaniſm, of democracy, or of any other form of civil government.

First from the want of authority.

In adopting the inſidious motions of Camus and Lanjuinais, the aſſembly declared, that their intention was to revive the diſcipline eſtabliſhed by the canons of the ancient councils, and to preſerve the faith and the goſpel whole and entire. They were anſwered by the clergy: "Pray, who are "you, or by what authority do you, ſimple laymen, "undertake to ſettle the laws and canons of ancient or "modern councils! Who has commiſſioned you to re"vive a diſcipline purely eccleſiaſtical, eſtabliſhed by the "church at one time, and varied at others, for reaſons "appertaining to the ſalvation of ſouls, of which ſhe "alone is a competent judge? Who are you who com"mand her to reſume her ancient practices, without in"quiring whether, in the exiſting circumſtances, ſuch "practices would be hoſtile or favourable to ſalvation, "which is her only object? Is it then true, that the "church of God has loſt that authority which it former"ly poſſeſſed, to preſcribe laws of diſcipline to the clergy? "What authority can revive theſe laws but that by "which they were originally enacted or occaſionally "changed? This authority cannot be veſted in you; and "as well might we uſurp that of kings and ſenates ap-

" pointed to conduct the civil government? What would " be your aſtoniſhment if we, miniſters of the altar, ſhould " command you to revive the ancient laws, the civil laws " of the early ages of the monarchy? The civil magiſ- " trate would remonſtrate againſt the invaſion of his rights, " and we ſhould ſtand convicted. Now is it leſs our " duty to maintain an authority and rights which God " has given to none but to us and to the other paſtors of " his church? But we ſhould have leſs reaſon to com- " plain, if this civil conſtitution went no farther than to " the re-eſtabliſhment of church diſcipline, to the revival " of the ancient canons of councils, and the preſervation " of the faith and of the goſpel in all their purity; which " unfortunately is not the caſe."

2. From its oppoſition to ancient diſcipline.

" You pretend to revive and enforce the " ancient diſcipline by the election of paſ- " tors, which you ſubmit to the laity alone. " From theſe elections you exclude the biſhops and the " prieſts, and you admit Jews, Mahometans, and every " other ſect inimical to the church. We defy you to pro- " duce in the account of ancient diſcipline, a law ſo pre- " poſterous, ſo inconſiſtent, on the choice of biſhops. We " defy you to ſhew an example of curates choſen by the " people. The whole of church hiſtory does not afford " a ſingle inſtance of ſuch a proceeding.

" But you go ſtill farther; you declare that the people " have an inherent right to theſe elections; that is to ſay, " the very principle of your laws is diametrically oppoſite " to the doctrine of the catholic church: for our general " councils have pronounced anathema againſt any man, " who ſhall maintain that the people have any ſuch right, " (Concil. 8, œcum. c. 22.) and the abuſes committed " at theſe elections made it neceſſary to forbid the prac- " tice.

" Thus

" Thus in this ſingle article of elections, under a pre-
" tence to revive the ancient diſcipline of the church, you
" overturn this very diſcipline, you contradict all eccleſi-
" aſtical hiſtory, you diſobey her precepts, you diſavow
" her doctrine, and you incur the cenſure of excommu-
" nication. What idea can thoſe men entertain of the
" catholic faith, who propoſe to our acceptance this cu-
" rious conſtitution as its moſt laſting ſupport? We are
" the depoſitaries of this faith, we are appointed to ex-
" plain its duties, and we ſhall not ſhrink from the ardu-
" ous taſk.

3. Oppoſition to what faith teaches concerning the two powers.

" The Roman catholic religion teaches,
" that God has eſtabliſhed two diſtinct pow-
" ers on earth; the one to provide for the
" temporal welfare of the people, and their
" civil government: the other to promote their eternal
" happineſs and the ſpiritual government of their ſouls.
" This ſpiritual power, regarding only the ſalvation of
" ſouls, has been fully and excluſively delegated by Jeſus
" Chriſt to the paſtors of the church. Every act of this
" ſpiritual authority, which is not exerciſed in the name
" of Jeſus Chriſt, or by his miniſters, is of no avail
" towards ſalvation. This is the catholic faith. And
" in ſpite of this faith, by a pretended conſtitution of the
" clergy, which in the end muſt prove their deſtruction,
" you aſſume to yourſelves the ſupreme direction of this
" ſpiritual authority. Fifty-eight biſhoprics and archbi-
" ſhoprics which have ſubſiſted from the earlieſt ages of
" chriſtianity, are deſtroyed by your decrees: other me-
" tropolitan ſees are erected, and the deſtruction of twenty
" thouſand pariſhes is ſoon to follow. Scarce a ſingle
" biſhop, and few other paſtors, are ſuffered to act
" within the ancient limits of their juriſdiction, fixed by
" the ſpiritual power. To ſome of theſe you ſay; I
" forbid you to exerciſe any act of ſpiritual authority
" within the precinct of your former dioceſes and pa-
" riſhes; I forbid you to preach, to confirm, to admini-

"niſter the ſacraments, and to perform any function for "the ſalvation of ſouls. To others you ſay, you ſhall no "longer perform thoſe functions in ſuch a diſtrict; but "you ſhall abſolve, you ſhall confirm within the limits "aſſigned by our decrees. You ſay to all of them; the "church has committed theſe ſouls to your care, I de-"prive you of it, and give it to another. Are we then, "in compliance with your injunction, to ſuffer the people "to believe, that in your name and by your authority "they are to be ſaved; although the ſcriptures oblige "us to declare, that none can be ſaved but in the name "of Jeſus Chriſt, and by the authority which he has "given to his church? You would have us ſuppreſs "theſe important truths, which form the baſis of our "holy functions, and of the ſpiritual welfare of our "flocks. But you do not conſider that by this conduct, "we ſhould not ſave, we ſhould kill the ſouls of our "people. Now we will leave you to judge, whether it "be our duty to diſſemble in matters of faith, and ſuffer "your decrees to lead them into perdition, or to ſave "their ſouls in ſpite of your pretended authority."

Theſe were ſerious difficulties about the civil conſtitution of the clergy; but it contained other matters ſtill more obnoxious. Without acknowledging the power of a lay aſſembly to interfere in ſpiritual arrangements; the pope and the biſhops might have made the ſame diviſions, the ſame ſuppreſſions, and other different changes, in the dioceſes and in the pariſhes. They actually made an offer to ſecond the wiſhes of the aſſembly, by an exertion of all the authority they had received, and of all the means afforded by the church. But it was this very authority which was now the object of contention. Every ſpecies of authority was now ſaid to centre in the aſſembly, and they could no longer hear with patience that they exceeded the bounds of their power, by erecting ſix epiſcopal ſees, by deſtroying fifty, or even by delegating

delegating any paſtoral juriſdiction to a ſingle curate. About the middle of July, 1790, this famous civil conſtitution was finally ſettled, and excited freſh complaints on the part of the French clergy.

4. To what the Church teaches concerning Councils.

" By the conſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, ſaid " they, the ſupreme power of the church " reſides in the body of the biſhops attach- " ed to the Pope. They have been appointed to govern " the church of God. When aſſembled in his name, " or when iſſuing by common conſent their deciſions and " their precepts, they put us in mind of that oracle of " the Holy Ghoſt, that he who reſiſts their voice muſt " be conſidered as a heathen or a publican."

" By the conſtitution which you have decreed, it is " you who govern the church and its paſtors; you por- " tion out the flocks and appoint the perſons who are to " feed them: it is no longer from the canons of the " councils and popes, but from your decrees alone that " we are to learn the extent of their authority, or the " legality of their power over us."

5. Concerning Popes.

" According to the goſpel conſtitution " there is in the church a ſucceſſor of Peter, " to whom Jeſus Chriſt has given not any temporal " power whatever either direct or indirect over the peo- " ple, or over the kings or their magiſtrates, but a real " primacy of ſpiritual juriſdiction over the ſhepherds and " their flocks: it was to Peter that he gave the keys of " the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding or " unbinding without any exception."

" According to the conſtitution you have decreed, Pe- " ter has no ſuch power, and the Pope would in vain " attempt to exert it in France. You forbid your bi- " ſhops to apply to him for his approbation; you bring

" under

" under your juriſdiction his authority, his deciſions and " his reſcripts. When you expreſsly forbid us to ac- " knowledge the juriſdiction of any biſhop not reſiding " in France, you do not deign to make an exception in " favour of the Pope, who reſides at Rome; and you " applaud the zeal of your ſpeakers, who to ſupport " your decrees do not heſitate to declare, that the ſpiritual " juriſdiction of the Pope in France is perfectly void " and null. You muſt either retract theſe blaſphemies " againſt Peter, or you muſt ceaſe to recommend your " conſtitution to the acceptance of a Roman catholic " clergy."

6. Concerning Biſhops. " The biſhops could not expect to be " treated with more reſpect than you had " ſhewn to the head of the church. The conſtitution " of Jeſus Chriſt had ſubjected the prieſts, ſucceſſors of " the diſciples, to the juriſdiction of the biſhops, ſucceſ- " ſors of the apoſtles in their reſpective churches. It " is under the direction and by the miſſion of the biſhops, " that they exerciſe their holy functions. He may, and " it is often his duty to aſk their advice; but he alone " has the power to decide."

" The conſtitution you have decreed does not allow " the biſhop the nomination to a ſingle living in his dio- " ceſe. He cannot act without the approbation of his " clergy, and they can oblige him to act againſt his own " judgment. The law of the apoſtle is referred to the " ſanction of the diſciples. The curates choſen by the " people receive from them their miſſion; and your diſ- " tricts, your lay tribunals, pronounce without appeal, on " the powers of the curates, the vicars, the biſhops and " the metropolitans."

7. Concerning Paſtors. " The conſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt de- " clares, that the means of ſalvation can " be

" be found only in the true legitimate paſtor; that the " others can only miſlead, ſeduce and murder the ſheep."

" According to the conſtitution you have decreed, " there can be no ſuch thing as a falſe paſtor, becauſe " there can be none but ſuch as the people have cho- " ſen."

" In the ſyſtem of the goſpel conſtituti- 8. Concern- ing the Faith- " on, laymen can only be conſidered as the ful. " objects and the terms of ſpiritual authori- " ty. This authority is exerciſed over the people for the " benefit of the people; but no part of it can be exer- " ciſed by the people. They are all ſubject to the au- " thority of the diſciples and of the apoſtles; it is their " duty to hear their voice and to follow them, not to " appoint or to judge them."

" By your decrees the people name all the paſtors by " the voice of their electors; the people grant them " confirmation by the diſtricts, who are the only judges; " the people mark the nature and the extent of their " miniſtry, by a national aſſembly, which acknowledges " that it derives its rights from the people alone."

" Such is the extreme oppoſition to be found Concluſion. " between the conſtitution, which you propoſe to us, and " and that which we received from God himſelf. Jeſus " Chriſt had placed the higheſt authority in the councils " and the Pope; you allow none to the Pope and the " councils. Jeſus Chriſt ſubjected the prieſts to their " biſhops; you ſubject the biſhops to the prieſts. Jeſus " Chriſt commanded the people to obey their paſtors; " you ſubject the paſtors to the people. Jeſus Chriſt " founded a catholic church; you improve upon the plan " of a preſbyterian congregation."

Beſides

9. Other errors of the conſtitution.

Beſides this manifeſt oppoſition of the new conſtitution to that we received from God, other inconſiſtencies, other errors were diſcovered, which they repreſented as equally heretical and abſurd. The new conſtitution could not poſſibly be received by any man who could not bring himſelf to believe, that a biſhop, the moment he is named to a particular ſee, can every where validly exerciſe the ſame authority as in his own dioceſe. This was making as many popes as there were biſhops: and yet the aſſembly has expreſsly forbidden the acknowledgment of any authority in the pope or in any biſhop not reſiding in France. If you had any faith in this conſtitution, you muſt maintain that a prieſt, the moment he is conſecrated, may validly exerciſe all the authority, and perform all the functions of the inferior clergy. This was nothing more or leſs than making an univerſal curate out of a common prieſt. As well might it be ſaid that the mayor of a French village, being really a mayor, may croſs the ſea and enter the Manſion-Houſe of London to diſcharge that important ſtation. Thus indeed reaſoned Camus and Mirabeau, the theologians of the aſſembly.

Again, you muſt with theſe ſame legiſlators proſcribe all religious vows, which have always been conſidered by the church as means of ſalvation. You muſt adopt the expediency and the ſyſtemacy of a divorce ever condemned by this church, and you muſt adopt together with it, all the crimes, all the diſorders, which the depravity of the preſent age brings along with it.

Upon the whole, the very idea of introducing a new conſtitution into the church, is an outrageous blaſphemy againſt the authors of our religion. "We know," ſaid the biſhops, "that the importance of our functions may make the miniſters of the altar the object of a particular code of civil laws; but you affect to give them another name,

name, and miſtake their nature. Laws relating to power purely ſpiritual; laws defining the extent, the diviſion, the hierarchy of theſe powers conſtitute not a civil, but a religious code. If we accept of this, we muſt declare to the people, that Jeſus Chriſt has left his church without a conſtitution, that is, without any laws or regulations for its internal government, without any authority to direct it, without declaring by himſelf, or by his apoſtles, the different degrees, the order, or the hierarchy of theſe powers; without informing us who are the firſt, and who the ſecond paſtors; whom we are to obey; how we are to know thoſe who are appointed to inſtruct, to abſolve the people, and direct them in the path of ſalvation; and by what authority the choice, the extent, and the boundaries of theſe powers are to be fixed. But if Jeſus Chriſt has not really given us ſuch a religious conſtitution, he has not founded a church; he is not the author, the conſummator, the ſovereign legiſlator of our faith; he has not formed that body, that community, that ſociety, of which however he is the head, and of which he deſires we ſhould be members, that we may be his children. He has left his church unfixed, and floating amidſt a variety of opinions on conſtitutional laws, and the wiſdom of God has fallen ſhort of human wiſdom."

"On the other hand, if Jeſus Chriſt has really ſettled our conſtitutional laws, what can you mean by your decrees on the authority, the choice, the hierarchy, the miſſion, the confirmation of our paſtors, and on the pretended rights of the people, and of the diſtricts over the church? Yes, we have received a religious conſtitution from Jeſus Chriſt, and after all the ſubterfuges you have employed to wreſt it from us, we will not ſuffer the people to believe that we can ſubmit to any other, and prefer the laws of men to the laws of God. Our ſilence would be a criminal apoſtacy."

Freſh offers of the Clergy

Such were the arguments inſiſted upon in theſe writings. It was never intended to recommend reſiſtance even to the new laws, where religion was not concerned. The biſhops again offered their mediation to remove every difficulty in the conteſted points: they propoſed calling a national council: they ſhewed a readineſs to make every ſacrifice if the depoſite of religious truths ſhould be preſerved inviolate.

The aſſembly had no reaſon to doubt the ſincerity of theſe offers. They were often repeated by the bench of the clergy, by Monſieur Boiſgelin archbiſhop of Aix, whoſe talents and whoſe eloquence gave to his opinions the ſtrongeſt force of reaſon; by Monſieur de Bonnard biſhop of Clermont, whoſe piety, equally modeſt and firm, evinced him to have engaged in the cauſe of religion; by the nervous eloquence of the Abbé Maury, which aſtoniſhed and confounded this horde of legiſlators acting in open revolt againſt their God and their king, and which ſilenced a Camus, a Treillard, and Mirabeau himſelf.

Theſe offers and theſe arguments of the clergy were never anſwered by the aſſembly: they were publiſhed by the biſhops in the expoſition of their unanimous doctrine. They were totally ſilent as to what they had ſuffered and what they had loſt; but they bewailed in the moſt pathetic tears the ſituation of a church which they ſaw expoſed to all the dangers of a ſchiſm. Theſe dangers and their fatal conſequences ſhewed themſelves in ſo ſtrong alight that they thought it high time to make the laſt remaining ſacrifice to their duty.

In a ſituation ſimilar to that in which they were now to be placed, St. Auguſtin and the catholic biſhops of Africa had made an offer to quit their ſees, and to reſign them to the Donatiſts. The only condition annexed to this

this reſignation was, that the Donatiſts ſhould ceaſe to trouble the unity of the church, and embrace the common cauſe of truth. This precedent was eagerly followed by the French biſhops. In their letter to the Pope they declared their readineſs to adopt the ſame diſintereſted conduct. They deſired leave to reſign, and ſaid in the words of the inſpired writer, if this ſtorm has ariſen on our account, let us be the only victims of its fury. Let other men ſucceed to the government of our churches, but let them be ſaved. We are ready to ſurrender to them the depoſite of faith, but then let it be preſerved whole and entire, and exactly the ſame as they received from our hands.

In making this laſt ſacrifice, they repreſented to his Holineſs the reaſons which had induced them to ſhew ſo ſtrong, ſo unanimous a reſiſtance to the new code of laws propoſed to them, and they entreated him to explain himſelf on the ſubject.

The Pope had long beſtowed much time and application on this ſame code. In a letter to Lewis XVI. he had put him in mind of the deplorable miſchiefs which would be brought upon the church of France by the ſanction of theſe decrees. He had written to the ſame purpoſe to Monſ. de Cicé, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, who was ſtill about the king's perſon as keeper of the ſeals, and to Monſ. de Pompignan, archbiſhop of Vienne. But the wiſdom and the maturity which always accompanied the deliberations of Pius VI. did not yet permit him to publiſh the learned diſcuſſion which he was preparing for the public eye.

If Lewis XVI. had been leſs awed by the national aſſembly, the Pope's letter would have had its full effect on his mind. He was too religious a prince to yield without reluctance to the influence of the enemies of the church,

church; but he was now compleatly enſlaved by the jacobins. His palace which was now his priſon, was filled with a daſtardly ſet of revolutionary and conſtitutional attendants, and other trials were neceſſary to teach him to die like a hero. The royal aſſent was given on the 24th of Auguſt, 1790. Of the two archbiſhops who aſſiſted at the council, the one died of grief; and the other continues by unceaſing ſorrow and regret to expiate the crime his hand committed by ſetting the great ſeal to the ſanction. The jacobins thought of nothing but carrying it into execution.

The cathedral and collegiate church felt the firſt violence of the ſtorm. Theſe religious edifices were inveſted by numerous legions of armed ſoldiers. The prebendaries were ſtrictly forbidden to exerciſe their functions any longer in them. Violence and indecency in this firſt outſet were carried to ſuch a length, that the conſtitutional magiſtrates were not aſhamed to affix their ſeals to the holy of holies, to the tabernacle of the high altar.

The ſee of Quimper had loſt its lawful biſhop, and the jacobins ſeized the opportunity of inducting a proto-conſtitutional prelate. The choice fell on the famous Expilly, who had been ſo uſeful to Camus in forming the new code. It now directed him to apply to the biſhop of Rennes for a canonical inſtitution: but this gentleman was not prepared to bend his knee to ſchiſm and hereſy, to conſider himſelf as raiſed to the degree of a metropolitan by the decrees of a lay aſſembly, nor to uſurp an authority which the exiſting laws of the church reſerved to the Pope alone. Monſ. de Girac aſſigned ſuch ſtrong and cogent reaſons for declining to act on this occaſion, as gave the aſſembly ſome idea of what was to be expected from the other biſhops.

The Oath the 5th perſecution of the clergy.

Voidel, that formidable preſident of the committee of reſearches, was appointed to bring

bring in a report of the means of conquering the reſiſtance of the clergy. This was putting their fate into the hands of their tyrants. Voidel conſulted by the provincial clubs how far they might carry their vengeance againſt the prieſts, returned this laconic anſwer: *Stop at nothing:* you ſhall be ſupported. This letter was publicly circulated, and the report he brought up anſwered the idea it gave of the writer. After pouring forth a torrent of invective and abuſe, he concluded by moving for a decree, which paſſed on the 27th of November, by which it was enacted, that all biſhops, curates, and other public eccleſiaſtical functionaries, who ſhould not within the ſpace of eight days take the oath to maintain the new conſtitution of the clergy, ſhould be reputed to have renounced their functions: that every incumbent diſabled by a decree of the aſſembly, who ſhould continue to exerciſe his functions, ſhould be puniſhed as a diſturber of the public peace. To prevent the retractations which repentance might ſuggeſt, it was farther provided by this decree, that if any man who had taken this oath ſhould be found to violate it, he was amenable to the criminal courts, was to be deprived of his penſion, and be declared unworthy to bear the title of citizen, and incapable of holding any office.

The eccleſiaſtical members of the aſſembly had heard the reports, had been ſhocked at the indecent and acrimonious language in which it was couched, but ſtill ſhuddered at the idea of perjury. The violence offered to the rights of the church ſenſibly affected the king, and he had not ſanctioned the decree on the 23d of December. Camus grows furious, he declaims with his uſual violence againſt the King, the Clergy, and the Pope; he declares that France and the conſtitution are loſt if the decree of the 23d of November is not carried into immediate execution. The aſſembly adopts his ſentiments, and orders a deputation to the king, His majeſty returns an anſwer, ſtating, that he thought it a duty he owed to religion and to public tranquillity, to take ſome time to conſider a decree

decree of this nature. This anſwer added freſh fuel to a conflagration, which had been lighted up on the left ſide, and which had been fanned by Camus their divine. He declared openly that if the clergy would not ſubmit with a good grace to take the oath, it was high time to compel them to it. Mirabeau ſeconds Camus from very different views. The Abbé Maury ſeized the critical moment. The approach of danger awakens the energy of great minds; he enters into a critical diſcrimination of the theological tenets of Camus and Mirabeau; but the moment of conviction was now loſt; the appeal is no longer made to reaſon, but to the ſword. Rouſed into a generous enthuſiaſm, the ſpeaker for the clergy thus continued: "In the preſent ſituation of affairs nothing remains for me but to entreat you to haſten the delivery of the challenge you propoſe to ſend us. Let another meſſenger be diſpatched to the king; let him no longer withhold the ſanction of a decree, which affords you ſo much ſatisfaction. Loſe no time in giving the French nation this proof of your love by ſhedding our blood.——Loſe not a ſingle moment; your victims are here, they are ready. Why add by ſuſpenſe to the cruelty of their torments? Proceed with vigour and diſpatch to the order of public executions;——you may hope to increaſe by martyrdom the number of your party. I will only add that your reign muſt be of ſhort duration. Your power is loſt when it ceaſes to be dreaded."

The ſmalleſt remains of modeſty muſt have diſcerned the deſpotic legiſlators. They muſt now either repeal the ſanguinary decree, or they muſt proceed to the utmoſt length of tyrannic ſway. They choſe to proceed, and a freſh deputation was ſent to the king. On the 27th of December the joyful accent of the left ſide of the aſſembly announce, that the royal ſanction is obtained, and the day of tendering the oath is fixed. To add ſolemnity to the proceſs, or rather to render reſiſtance leſs practicable, it is decreed that at the expiration of eight days, that is

to

to ſay, on the fourth of January the aſſembly will receive the oath to maintain the civil conſtitution of the clergy; that on that day all the eccleſiaſtical members ſhall be called over, and that each individual ſhall be ſummoned to take the oath before the legiſlative body.

The number of theſe deputies amounted to three hundred. Such of them as had taken their ſeats among the jacobins of the left ſide preſſed forward to prevent the appointed day by taking the oath without qualification or reſerve. There were about thirty of theſe intrepid ſwearers. Another claſs, without being jacobins, were ſeduced by artful explanations of the oath to take it. There remained twenty-nine biſhops, and about two hundred and thirty prieſts to be ſworn next day.

That memorable day, recorded in the annals of the French clergy, will bear an honourable teſtimony to their loyalty and their love of religion. The mob engaged in the ſervice of the popular demagogues had taken poſt at an early hour, had ſurrounded the hall, beſieged the avenues, and ſecured the terrace of the Feuillans in the Thuilleries. Through theſe diſorderly ranks the biſhops and prieſts were to paſs to the aſſembly-room, and through the whole of their progreſs their ears were ſaluted with the moſt licentious inſults and the moſt horrid threats againſt ſuch of them as remained faithful to their duty. The hour approaches, and the hired ruffians rend the air with the moſt hideous ſhouts of *To the lamp-poſt! to the lamp-poſt thoſe biſhops and prieſts who ſhall refuſe to take the oath!* This ſignal awakens the attention of the preſident, and he obſerves the clock has ſtruck. He gives notice, he is going to call over the names, and the horrid din recommences. Some of the lay members take notice of the indecency of theſe ſanguinary clamours, and move that the proper officers put an end to this violence, that the clergy may appear to act freely on this important occaſion. They were thanked for their generous interference,

but

but were told that the clergy were little concerned at the senseless clamour of a deluded people; that ignorance and noise should never direct their conscience.

The president rises from his seat and takes up the list of the priests who had not been sworn. The first named was Mons. de Bonnac bishop of Agen. The mob, directed to let the answer of the clergy be heard, observed a profound silence. "Gentlemen," says the Bishop, "I lament not the loss of my fortune; there "is another loss which would hurt me exceedingly; the "loss I mean of your esteem and my faith; I could not "fail to lose both, if I took the oath proposed to me."

This grave, this decent, firm, and well-bred speech excited sentiments of admiration, and for an instant the members of the left hand felt their rancour suspended. A curate of the same diocese, named Fournet, was called next. "Gentlemen, you tell us that your wish "is to recall us to the virtues of the earliest ages of "christianity. In all the simplicity of that happy æra "of the church, I declare to you that I think it an honour "to follow the example of my bishop. I will tread in "his footsteps, as Laurence the deacon did in those of "his bishop Sixtus; I will follow him even unto mar-"tyrdom."

This resolute answer excited some commotion on the left side, and the jacobins seemed to repent of having afforded the clergy an opportunity of giving such public, such honourable proofs of their constancy in their faith. However, some hopes are still entertained, that of such a number of priests some will be found less disposed to bid defiance to the legislators in their presence, and in the seat of their omnipotence. The president calls upon M. le Clerc, curate of la Cambe, in the diocese of Sees, who thus addressed himself to the assembly: "I was born

" born a Roman Catholic, and am determined to die in " that communion. This I can never do if I take the " oath you propoſe to me."

Theſe firm unequivocal profeſſions of faith were ill calculated to allay the ferment. The Jacobins loſe all patience, and by the moſt importunate noiſe interrupt a call which had brought nothing but deſpair to the hearts of Camus, Treillard, Voidel, and their party. Their own conſciences would have ſhrunk from the trial, and they could not conceive that other men could profeſs ſuch firmneſs of mind, or perſiſt in ſuch propriety of conduct. They blame their own imprudence in bringing on a ſpectacle ſo humiliating; and clamorouſly move that an end be now put to the call of the members, and the ſummons of individuals. M. Beaupoil de St. Aulaire, biſhop of Poitiers, fearing he might loſe ſo fair an opportunity of bearing teſtimony to his faith, advanced with an eagerneſs which made him inſenſible to the weight of his years, towards the tribune. There calling upon the preſident to command ſilence, he ſaid, " Gentlemen, I am " ſeventy years old; I have been thirty years a biſhop: " I will not diſgrace my grey hairs with the oath you " have decreed. I will never take it." Upon this all the clerical members of the right riſe from their ſeats, applaud the laſt ſpeaker, and declare that he had expreſſed their unanimous ſentiments.

This was carrying oppoſition a great way againſt men, whoſe decrees had hitherto made the ſceptre yield, and every obſtacle diſappear. Their countenances ſtrongly expreſs the rankling malice of their hearts; they riſe precipitately, throw themſelves into different groups, diſperſe again, and again renew their converſations. Their opinions are divided; they know not what meaſure to adopt in order to cover their ſhameful defeat, and to tarniſh the glory of a triumphant clergy. Within all is confuſion and diſorder, without doors nothing is heard but the moſt clamorous

clamorous vociferations, *To the lamp-poſt all the non-juring biſhops and clergy!* Theſe biſhops and this clergy, perfectly compoſed and unmoved by the threats of the jacobins, and the perfidious inſinuations of their conſtitutional brethren, waited impatiently for a renewal of the ſummons, which had done ſo much honor to their faith. They make it the moſt earneſt intreaty, that this call may no longer be interrupted. Such was the undaunted ſpirit of the ancient confeſſors before the tribunals of the Pagan emperors.

The tumultuous deliberations of groups from the left had at length ſettled a meaſure, which the apoſtate Gregoire was directed to explain from the tribune. He addreſſes himſelf to the clergy to the right, and exerts all his eloquence to convince them, that it never was the intention of the aſſembly to meddle with religion, or the ſpiritual authority of the church; that the oath might ſafely be taken without the leaſt injury to the catholic faith. The explanation is thought in ſome ſort ſatisfactory, if it be decreed by the aſſembly. The ratification is refuſed, and again tumult and diſorder enſue. The jacobins and the philoſophers call aloud for a ceſſation of this conteſt, and propoſe that inſtead of giving to every individual an opportunity of delivering his private opinion, a general ſummons ſhall be iſſued, and that thoſe who are diſpoſed to take the oath ſhall advance into the middle of the hall.

The decree for the call of the houſe being thus ſet aſide, the preſident proceeded: "Let ſuch of the clergy "as have not taken the oath, riſe and advance to take "it!" Not a man advances, not a man riſes. Vexation and aſtoniſhment are the only fruits of this new decree. The reſiſtance of the clergy is uniform and invincible. It is now become a matter of neceſſity to repeal the tyrannic edict, or to fill the meaſure of oppreſſion by a new decree. This indeed would be paſſing from the extreme of impotent rage, to the barbarity of blind

blind deſpair; but the aſſembly had now no choice. The oath is confirmed by a new decree, and the king is directed to have other biſhops and curates choſen, to replace thoſe who had refuſed to take the oath.

This foul inſult farther convinced thoſe curates and thoſe biſhops, that they had acted wiſely in rejecting a conſtitution, which delivered into profane hands, into the hands of men who were perfect ſtrangers to all ſpiritual authority, a power of exerciſing that which the true paſtors had received from Jeſus Chriſt.

While the aſſembly was paſſing this decree againſt the clergy, a freſh event added to their triumph and their comfort. Twenty curates, without being under the influence of the Jacobin club, had thought that the oath might be taken with certain reſtrictions and explanations, which ſeemed to ſet their conſcience at reſt. They had employed every conſideration to perſuade themſelves that they might lawfully give this proof of their ſubmiſſion to the decrees of the aſſembly. Rouſed by the perſevering reſiſtance of their brethren; and aſtoniſhed at the repeated refuſals of the legiſlature to admit any reſtriction, any explanation, that might ſecure their faith; convinced of their miſtake in truſting to the profeſſions of men, who had proceeded to proſcribe, to eject, and to replace ſo many paſtors of the firſt and ſecond order; aſſured by every ſtep now taken, that an open war is declared againſt all ſpiritual authority, they feel the ſting of their own conſciences; many of them preſs forward to the tribune, and loudly pronounce a retractation of an oath, which had made them apoſtates. Many others, who had been equally weak, adhere to the retractation; they wiſh it to lie on the table, but this is refuſed; they inſiſt, and again they are repulſed. But they have done their duty. On the following day their converſion was ſtated to the public by printed accounts. Nothing could more honourably crown the

the moſt ſolemn, the moſt authentic profeſſion of faith, ever recorded in the annals of church hiſtory.

In the midſt of an aſſembly the moſt numerous, the moſt powerful and cruel, ſurrounded by ruffians, robbed by unjuſt decrees, threatened by the vengeance of a ferocious populace, the college of biſhops and prieſts had given a conſcientious teſtimony to religion. They walked out of this formidable ſenate amidſt the hiſſes, and the imprecations of an enraged mob, and were with difficulty ſecured from farther violence, by the armed force that attended them; but *they were joyous for having found an opportunity of ſuffering injuries for the name of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Their enemies did not withhold their admiration of ſo firm a conduct. "They have loſt their money," ſaid Mirabeau, "but they have ſaved their honor." This compliment diminiſhed not the rage of their enemies.

It was a great undertaking to reduce the paſtors of the whole extended empire of France, to the alternative of depoſition or perjury. But nothing could ſtop the vexatious tyranny of the legiſlators. They iſſued an order to all municipal officers, to ſummon all the biſhops, curates, vicars, and all eccleſiaſtical public functionaries, to take the oath on pain of depoſition. Here France exhibited another ſpectacle unrecorded in its hiſtory.

During two whole months, the feſtival days in the capital and throughout the provinces, were days of the moſt exquiſite torture to their reſpective paſtors. Imagination can ſcarcely conceive the temptations, the perſecutions, the ſolicitations, they were obliged to reſiſt, merely to avoid the guilt of perjury. Here the emiſſaries of the clubs officiouſly inform ſome of them of the fate that awaits them, if they perſiſt in their refuſal; there the tears and the prayers of relations and friends are employed to ſoften them.

them. In their own hearts they felt the conflict of affection, and of a habit of living in a pariſh which had hitherto loved them, and the cruel effect of decrees which had branded them as their bittereſt enemies. The Jacobins had employed all their arts to perſuade the people, that no prieſt could refuſe to take the oath, but from a principle of ariſtocracy, a deſire to recover their titles, or ſome ſecret conſpiracy againſt the commonwealth.

Nothing could be more inſidious than the language which the pretended philoſophers held on this occaſion. What have you to fear for your religion, ſaid they? The aſſembly leaves you your churches, your maſs, your veſpers, your ſacraments, and your creed. It cannot be the love of religion, it cannot be conſcience, it can only be a hatred of the revolution, and of the national aſſembly, that makes them our enemies. Get rid of all theſe hypocrites, chuſe other curates who will abſolve you, will ſay the ſame maſs, and preach the ſame religion.

Numerous pamphlets wrought up with falſe and ſpecious arguments, were induſtriouſly circulated through the kingdom: and deep was the impreſſion they made on the minds of the ſimple and ignorant, whoſe religious ſentiments and affections are more eaſily over-influenced by exterior modes of worſhip. The faithful paſtor deſcending to the level of a flock dear to him, made uſe of the moſt familiar language and compariſons, in order to make them ſenſible of their errors. "Far be it from you to believe, ſaid he, that in thoſe ceremonies, which they have left you the free uſe of, conſiſts the eſſential part of your religious worſhip. You are not to account me duly authoriſed to offer up to God for you the ſacrifice of the maſs, or to perform the other eſſential functions of my charge, merely becauſe you ſee I have preſerved my gown and ſurplice, or other exterior ornaments. A ſtage-player might appear amongſt you in the ſame dreſs, and perform the ſame ceremonies; but theſe would undoubtedly

doubtedly be deſtitute of any ſpiritual effect. It is in the power of any citizen whatever to decorate himſelf with the ſcarf of a municipal officer, and to give out the ſame orders. With all this he would not be lawfully conſtituted in power. A valet in a nobleman's houſe might borrow his maſter's clothes, and make a diſplay of the ſame authority. By this artful ſtage-player, citizen, and valet, you would be deceived.

"The ſame may be ſaid of thoſe paſtors, who ſhould be placed over you by the aſſembly. They will aſſure you, they are inveſted with the ſame authority, as I am, becauſe they will perform the ſame functions; and yet in the performance of thoſe functions they would be deſtitute of all lawful authority, not having been appointed by the church. They will endeavour to perſuade you, that they have preſerved the ſymbol of faith, and ſtill miſlead you by heterodox explications. They will apparently acknowledge the ſpiritual power of the Pope, and a ſubordination to biſhops as their firſt paſtors; and at the ſame time they will refuſe all ſubmiſſion to that authority, which thoſe paſtors have over you and them. A conſtitutional curate will hold up to you his adherence to the unity of the church; yet ſtill will he ſtand ſeparated from the true church, and bear the ſame relation thereto, as a citizen would do to the ſtate, after having been rebellious to the laws, his magiſtrates, and his ſovereign. You talk to me of titles, which I wiſh to recover for myſelf and my biſhop. Is it not moſt clear, that by refuſing this oath, I relinquiſh all thoughts of titles, penſions, and every other emolument promiſed me, if I would take it. My firſt object, the deſire neareſt to my heart, is to ſave my own ſoul and yours. No motive whatever ſhould extort from me the refuſal I make, nothing ſhould ſeparate me from you, were it poſſible for me to accord my duty and conſcience to this diſaſtrous oath."

Theſe

These paſtoral inſtructions, in many inſtances, brought forward ſcenes extremely affecting between curates and their pariſhioners. In ſome diſtricts the whole pariſh, with the municipal officers at their head, aſſembling round their curate, proteſted by the moſt ſolemn oaths, that they never would acknowledge any other but him, or his lawful ſucceſſor approved of by the catholic church. In other diſtricts the faithful flock, with tears in their eyes, conjured their paſtor not to abandon their pariſh, but to take the oath, qualified with any reſtrictions he might think neceſſary for the tranquillity of his conſcience. Many took the oath with theſe reſtrictions, which they had afterwards enrolled in the public regiſters, as a ſolemn pledge of their faith. This in a ſhort time became uſeleſs, becauſe it was preciſely the utter deſtruction of this faith that the Jacobins principally aimed at.

The days appointed for receiving the oath, were moſt commonly days of horror and confuſion. On thoſe days the hour being fixed generally at the time of church ſervice, the magiſtrates with their ſcarfs, true deſpots, eſcorted with bayonets and pikes, marched to the church, and there taking their poſts either in the ſanctuary, or round the chair of truth, they ſurrounded the miniſters of the altar, and on them peremptorily enforced either the oath, or depoſition. To ſome even theſe orders indicated the oath, or immediate death: and thus periſhed in Champagne the curate of Sept-Saux. Whilſt he was explaining to his pariſhioners, the reaſons why conſcientiouſly he thought himſelf not free to take the oath, a ruffian from the crowd levelled a muſket at his breaſt, and he fell a martyr in the goſpel chair.

Several other clergymen fell ſacrifices by pikes or muſket balls, at their church doors, either on the ſame day, or the day after they had refuſed to take an oath ſo contrary to their conſciences. In the centre of Paris, Monſieur de Panſemon, curate of St. Sulpice, had juſt finiſh-

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ed his homily, and the account he annually gave of the pariſh alms. Rich in private property he had himſelf, as uſual, advanced conſiderable ſums for the poor. The municipal commiſſioners arrived during his diſcourſe: and a crowd of ruffians, who had diſpoſed themſelves through the church, cried out, whilſt he was yet ſpeaking—"We "muſt have either the oath, or the lamp-poſt." Monſieur de Panſemon was of too determined a character to be decided by the dread of a lamp-poſt. Acroſs their loud vociferations he could only make them hear theſe words—"My conſcience forbids me." The ruffians ruſh on to murder him, when forty eccleſiaſtics, his fellow-functionaries, of equally ſteady characters, and all determined to be ſacrificed themſelves rather than abandon their paſtor, had fortunately placed themſelves around him. Theſe again protected by a numerous national guard, and ſeveral pariſhioners, who joined them, the virtuous man was obliged to retire with his life. Still the ruffians ſtormed with rage round their eſcort, and ſo far by their numbers overpowered the guards, that he received many blows on his head. He was conveyed to the veſtry, where his ſtrength failing, he fainted away. Providence reſerved him for other trials.

In many other churches of that capital the pariſh-prieſts, and particularly thoſe of St. Germain and St. Roch, Meſſrs. Ringar and Marduel withſtood ſimilar outrages with an equal firmneſs of character.

Nothing can bring forward more clearly to public view the ſpirit of the French revolution, and the zeal with which its partiſans were animated to deſtroy religion, than the ſolicitations employed by the firſt magiſtrates to induce Mr. Marduel to take the oath. Mr. Bailly, then mayor of Paris, went to the houſe of that reſpectable clergyman, and plied every engine that eloquence and ſophiſtry could invent. Mr. Marduel evidently proved, that

that he could not take the oath without becoming an apoſtate. *It is then true,* ſaid Mr. Bailly, *that the decrees on the civil conſtitution of the clergy are contrary to the catholic religion! Moſt certainly,* replied Mr. Marduel. Then Mr. Bailly declared, *that if it depended on him, the catholic religion ſhould that day be annihilated in France.*

A magiſtrate leſs decided than Bailly to ſacrifice conſcience and religion to revolutionary principles, furniſhed an example of a very different character. That magiſtrate was M. de Vauvilliers, an academician well known on account of his beautiful tranſlation of Pindar, one of thoſe truly eſtimable men of learning in France, in whom were united an elegant taſte and a profound erudition. He alſo had been led away by revolutionary principles, and then filled an important place in his municipality. Named, as many other commiſſioners, to receive in the churches the oaths preſcribed for the clergy, he wiſhed to decline the commiſſion. His municipal brethren are aſtoniſhed, expreſs their reſentment, and treat him as an ariſtocrat. "Gentlemen," anſwered he, "I am no "ariſtocrat: but I have a conſcience, and that conſcience "forbids me to exact from the clergy an oath, which I "do not think I am authorized to take myſelf." With this declaration he laid down his ſcarf, and retired from his office. He afterwards conſummated this ſacrifice, when called upon to take the oath himſelf, in order to be qualified to preſerve his apartments and profeſſor's chair in the royal college, with a ſalary of a thouſand crowns; he demurred, and gave up his fortune.

The revolution furniſhed few municipal officers of a firmneſs of character equal to that of Mr. de Vauvilliers. The new magiſtrates almoſt every where yielded to the torrent, or ſeconded the atrocious conduct of the ruffians. Even under the eyes of the national aſſembly, the municipal officers, anxious to triumph over the conſciences of

their prieſts, enforced the public decrees with arbitrary acts of rigor. Mr. de Grenthé, the younger, already deprived of his place by the revolution, and wiſhing to live in a peaceable retirement in Paris, was ſaying maſs in the church of Charonne, in the ſuburb St. Antoine; the mayor arrived in the middle of the ceremony, attended by the attorney of the commune, and the officers with their ſcarfs; when the altar was immediately ſurrounded by hatchets, ſabres and bayonets. The attorney going up to the altar interrupts the ſervice, and ſummoned Mr. de Grenthé to take the oath preſcribed by the aſſembly. "Sir," ſays the clergyman, "this oath is contrary to my conſcience. Ever reſolved to preſerve religiouſly a purity of conſcience, I will not chuſe to ſully it at this moment, whilſt I am offering to the Eternal Being, your ſovereign judge and mine, this immaculate victim." "Sir," replied the attorney, "I forbid you to continue the ſervice." The prieſt addreſſing himſelf immediately to the mayor—"*I intreat you, Sir, to put a ſtop to this violence:* the ſacrifice is far advanced, and it is my duty to conſummate it." The mayor, aſhamed, and at the ſame time aware of the riſing indignation of the people, retired with his attendants. The ſervice was continued and finiſhed. Mr. de Grenthé having put off the ſacerdotal ornaments in the veſtry returned calmly to the foot of the altar, there to finiſh his prayers as uſual. The people, reſtrained by aſtoniſhment and reſpect, ſuffered him to return home without the leaſt inſult, though they had reſorted to the church with very different diſpoſitions. The next morning he received the following letter, ſigned by the municipal officers: "We were much ſurprized at your "refuſal. We ſtill hope that you will recover your ho- "nor, and thus continue to merit the reſpect and friend- "ſhip of all honeſt people. For this purpoſe the muni- "cipality will repair to the church next ſunday, there to "receive your oath. *If in this you ſhew yourſelf refrac-*

"*tory,*

" *tory, we will declare you to be a rebel to the national* " *decrees: we will lay you under an interdict: we will place* " *a national guard over you at your houſe, and at your ex-* " *pence of ſix livres a day. This guard ſhall ſee this arret* " *carried into execution, and ſhall not be removed but by a* " *decree of the national aſſembly.*"

The following is the ſubſtance of Mr. de Grenthé's anſwer: " I am unalterably fixed in my reſolution. The " conduct you have ſhewn in my regard is itſelf a direct " violation of ſix decrees of the national aſſembly That " aſſembly has confided to you the execution of thoſe " decrees, and I am aſtoniſhed at your miſconſtruction of " them. The new inſtances you have made, will not be " more efficacious than the firſt."

In reality, nothing could be more contrary to the decrees, an extract of which accompanied this letter, than the menaces of the municipal officers. Mr. de Grenthé would moſt willingly have ſet at defiance this new inſult. But his friends, acquainted with the evil deſigns that were meditated againſt him, prevailed on him to retire to Champoſou, where the Prior, his brother, had ſo deeply impreſſed on the minds of his pariſhioners, a horror of this conſtitutional perjury, that they had drawn up and ſigned the following reſolve.

" We the underſigned mayor, municipal officers, and " other pariſhioners of Champoſou, dioceſe of Seéz, de- " clare, that deſirous to live and die in the Catholic, " Apoſtolic and Roman religion, delivered down to us " by our anceſtors, will follow no other paſtor than him " whom that church has given to us, and that we ourſelves " will baniſh from our pariſh, any one who ſhall have " the weakneſs to defile his conſcience by a ſchiſmatical " oath."

These faithful Catholics maintained inviolably this resolution. An intruding priest could not be installed among them but under the cover of cannon, and 400 national guards from the neighbourhood. This violence did not lessen their disaffection to the constitutional religion.

Many parishes in other dioceses gave equal demonstrations of the horror they had conceived of the new religion. That of Kernfuntin, perhaps the first brought to trial, went through it in a more distinguished manner. Orders arrive from the department to refuse the sacerdotal ornaments to Mr. Valette their pastor. These orders are opened in the vestry at the moment he had come to do duty, and the intruder puts on the vestments to replace him. Mr. Valette goes into the chair and makes his parishioners acquainted with what had passed. "Far be "it from me," says he, "from thinking to oppose by "force orders given by the department; and at the same "time I earnestly exhort you to bear with patience the "insult offered your pastor. What I still hope for is, "that leave will be granted me to officiate in another "place. Those who wish to join the intruder may re-"main here. I shall do duty for the others elsewhere." Instantly all the parishioners, without exception, leaving the church, follow their pastor, and the intruder remains alone.

Notwithstanding this disposition of a great number of parishes, the lawful pastors were still reduced to the necessity of abandoning their flocks. The neighbouring clubs incessantly combined all their forces both against the pastor, and his faithful parishioners. The faithful clergyman, dreading the effusion of human blood, was reduced to the necessity of absconding, or flying from his home. These were the only means he could devise to prevent all dangerous contests between his supporters and persecutors. Even in the best disposed parishes, the fury of the clubs

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and their banditti had occaſioned the moſt ſcandalous and bloody riots. For great numbers of curates and vicars a precipitate flight was the only reſource againſt the fatal lamp-poſt, whilſt nothing leſs than the plunder of the houſes and effects of the fugitives could ſatisfy the vengeance of the ruffians, from whoſe bloody hands they had eſcaped. In that early period many curates were purſued even into the foreſts, and chaced as wild beaſts. In Bretagne, ſeveral, after having been obliged to wander about day and night, fainted away in the woods through fatigue and hardſhips; nor could the ſavage ardor of their purſuers be relented but by the ſight of their carcaſes among the briers and buſhes, half mangled by beaſts of prey.

Every artifice was made uſe of by the Jacobins to perſuade the public, that the number of conforming clergymen was conſiderable. In Paris they had forged a catalogue of ſix hundred. In reality that unfortunate capital had furniſhed the greateſt number; but after the ſevereſt ſcrutiny it was well authenticated, that of ſix hundred clergymen employed in the duties of the pariſhes, not one third had taken the oath. Of forty attached to *St. Sulpice*, and of all thoſe, who ſerved the numerous pariſhes of *St. Jean de Greve*, and *St. Hypolite*, not one had conformed. At *St. Roch* forty out of forty-ſix remained ſteady. Two-thirds of the catalogue conſiſted either of thoſe prieſts whom the church rejects, or of thoſe collegians who had for twenty years been abuſing their education, or of ſingers who were not to be ranked with the clergy. Many were leſs qualified than theſe laſt. Savoyards and chimney-ſweepers were dreſſed for the purpoſe: dreſſed as clergymen they were paraded to the altars to take the oath, and thus impoſe on the credulity of the public. Notwithſtanding all this, there were to be found ſome men of diſtinction, ſuch as the curate of St. Euſtache, who that moment ceaſed to be the king's confeſſor,

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and alſo ſeveral other curates, who ſhewed more attachment to their revenues than to their faith.

Character of the conformiſts. In the provinces the number of curates and vicars, who perſevered in a ſteady refuſal of perjury, amounted to at leaſt fifty thouſand. Of the remaining part many qualified their oaths with this reſtriction, that therein ſhould be underſtood nothing injurious to their religion. It is a fact well atteſted, that thoſe clergymen who ſhewed the greateſt horror of the oath, were the paſtors the moſt zealouſly attached to the duties of their charge, and whoſe conduct was the moſt edifying. This is what cannot be ſaid of thoſe, who without any precaution for the ſecurity of their conſciences, ſwore without any proviſo. Their reputation and character alone ſufficiently evinced the juſtneſs of their refuſal, and of the inconſtancy of the others.

Of the hundred and thirty-eight French biſhops or archbiſhops, only four prevaricated. At the head of theſe prevaricators, we were not ſurpriſed to ſee Taillerand-Perigord d'Autun, who had before betrayed his brothers. A worthy caſuiſt of rebellion, he had made up his mind to abſolve his brother-legiſlators from the oath they had taken to their conſtituents in the electoral aſſemblies. From this he had abſolved himſelf; and at one perjury more his conſcience was not to be alarmed.

The ſecond was Brienne, archbiſhop of Sens, then alſo Cardinal de Loménie. His ambitious incapacity in the miniſtry had ruined the king: his ſcandalous conduct had deſolated and afflicted the church, from which he ought long before to have retired, or to have been expelled. It is not improbable that Jarante, biſhop of Orleans, was ſeduced by the authority of *his* example; common report repreſented that nobleman labouring under a load of accumulated debts, and he was not allowed to have virtue ſufficient

ſufficient to guard him againſt the attractives of a perjury, by which they might be cancelled. Savines, biſhop of Viviers, was known to be a man of principle, urbanity, and prudence: but long before the revolution there had appeared in him unequivocal ſymptoms of a diſtracted and diſordered mind. It is not as yet to be determined by the public opinion of his character, whether the oath he took was the effect of folly or vice; his cauſe is pleaded by the ſophiſtry of his writings; and this part of his conduct apologized for by his extravagancies.

There ſat in the legiſlative aſſembly a foreign biſhop, Gobet de Lyda, deputy of a canton of Alſace, where he was the ſuffragan of the biſhop of Porentrui for thoſe parts of the dioceſe, which lay within the French territories. No one had diſplayed more power of reaſoning than he in the *Tribune* of the aſſembly of legiſlators: no one there more clearly evinced, that their decrees on the civil conſtitution of the clergy were contrary to the catholic faith. Theſe decrees nevertheleſs he ſwore to maintain. He was accounted by many a man fraught with ambition and hypocriſy—but they were deceived. The intruded biſhop of Paris, the wretched Gobet, fears God, and fears the devil—yet he ſtands more in dread of the Jacobins than of God or the devil. In the firſt inſtance he had refuſed to take the oath, unleſs qualified with ſome proviſoes in favor of religion;—he was at laſt intimidated by the Jacobins, and ſwore without reſerve.

The other conformiſts, the moſt worthy of diſtinction, were a Gregoire, a worthy friend of Voidel and of Chabot, whom he made his grand vicar, after having driven the biſhop of Blois from his ſee; a *Goute*, originally a dragoon by profeſſion, afterwards an ignorant vicar, baniſhed from many pariſhes, and latterly the worthy ſucceſſor of Perigord in the national aſſembly, five and twenty or thirty prieſts on the left ſide whom the Jacobins had

had flattered with the lure of biſhoprics, and who had all the baſeneſs to aſpire thereto at the expence of the true biſhops.

Of thoſe who were not of the aſſembly, ſtood foremoſt the demoniac Fauchet, who at the ſhadow of a king ſtarted frantic; and being then conſtituted deliverer of the oracles of the *iron-mouthed* club, exhaled furies, which were to be rewarded with the mitre of an intruder at Bayeux. Among the conforming prieſts appeared alſo a *Torneé*, apoſtate no leſs than Gobet, but of a very different character, making equally a mockery of heaven, hell, and the jacobins. He took the oath to qualify himſelf for the archbiſhopric of Bourges in the new, as he had preached for an abbey in the old religion. Another hypocrite, who wiſhed to deceive heaven, hell, and the jacobins, was Lamouret. Twice expelled with ignominy from Lazare, he had, by his ſhameful ſervices, found credit with Mirabeau to be made his theologian and private ſecretary. He alſo perjured himſelf. Mirabeau ſupplied him with money, and had him appointed the intruded metropolitan of Lyons.

Some men moreover of auſtere morals, at leaſt apparently ſo, expreſſed a more than common zeal to take the oath. All thoſe moſtly belonged to a ſect, already proſcribed bythe church; they had uniformlyand obſtinately perſevered to conceal themſelves in her boſom as children of a common parent, with the only view of more ſurely being able to gnaw her vitals. The connections of the janſeniſts with Camus, and eſpecially the relation their principles bore to the new conſtitution attached to him many partizans in that ſect, and brought over many to be conformiſts.

Still among the janſeniſts were to be found men, whoſe integrity one ought to reſpect, and whoſe information ought

ought to be eſteemed. They had men of learning, ſuch as Moltrot, Jabineau and Lambert; and it is very remarkable, that all theſe men of learning teſtified the greateſt indignation againſt the oath, and wrote pointedly againſt all thoſe who took it.

In general the populace, under the influence of the jacobins, rallied round the conforming prieſts. In the refuſal of the oath this deluded people could diſcover nothing but ariſtocracy, a word which, to their eyes, had been conjured up into a bugbear, and filled their minds with horror. The French Huguenots were alſo borne down the ſame torrent. Theſe probably were ignorant of what had been ſaid by the impious ſect of philoſophers at the beginning of the revolution. "We will at preſent make uſe of the Calviniſts againſt the Catholics. In reality we wiſh not to have either the one or the other: and the time will come, when we ſhall be able to rid ourſelves of all religion."

Impoiſoned by a cruel error, the Huguenots of Nimes haſtened to ſecure to their ſect a preponderance they had long wiſhed for, without waiting for the decrees of the national aſſembly on the catholic religion. An impious and wily philoſophy had ſpared no pains in blowing up again the embers of a hatred, that had been ill ſmothered. She had refreſhed the remembrance of the hiſtory of that terrible night, over which religion weeps, and humanity muſt ſhudder. Impiety artfully diſſembling the real cauſe, has aſcribed to religion all that was odious in that diſaſtrous event. The men enjoying the confidence of the day, were far from acquainting the Calviniſts, that the atrocities of that horrible night, known by the name of St. *Barthelemy*, were originally conceived in the dark mind of the cruel Medicis, the offspring of counſels foreign to the genuine ſentiments, and blood of Frenchmen, and matured by a

ſyſtem of politics, which the uniform ſentiments and dogmas of catholicity reject with abhorrence. They acquainted them not, that both parties had been dreadfully wrong: that in the frenetic delirium of a civil war, our anceſtors had thought themſelves authoriſed to revenge by one general puniſhment, conſpiracies againſt the king and government, the maſſacres of the catholics at Bern, and the double maſſacre of the catholics at Nimes, all which had preceded the fatal day of St. *Barthelemy*. They told them not, that the horrors committed in one age, are not to be expiated by the horrors of another. They induſtriouſly concealed from them, what is well atteſted by impartial hiſtory, that in the council of Medicis, who planned the bloody plot of that night, there was not a clergyman of any deſcription: that the catholic religion in that cataſtrophe acknowledged as worthy members, *only* thoſe biſhops and prieſts, who, following the example of Hennuyer, biſhop of Lyſieux, had opened their churches to the Calviniſts, and oppoſed their own bodies as a barrier againſt the aſſaſſins: or thoſe, who as that prelate had done, had the courage to reply to general officers, "Yes "tell the king, that I oppoſe the execution of theſe bar- "barous orders, which you have received, to put the "Calviniſts to the ſword: I take upon myſelf the honor, "and if neceſſary, the puniſhment of diſobedience."

The impious planners of the revolution were far from reminding the Calviniſts, that this heroic conduct of a biſhop had alone received the approbation of true Catholics, and that even, when the cruelties of that day were freſh in every mind, it had gained over all the Calviniſts of Lyſieux to the catholic church, the faith of which they all haſtened to embrace, as ſoon as they had been made better acquainted with its genuine ſentiments. Modern Calviniſts did not allow themſelves ſufficient time to reflect coolly, that thoſe biſhops, and non-juring curates, againſt whom they leagued themſelves with the new

new church, and who were repreſented to be ſo intolerant, had never in one ſingle inſtance inſtigated their followers to diſturb the peace of thoſe churches, which had been granted by law to Proteſtants: that the edict of 1787, prior to the revolution, had not drawn from the clergy againſt the Calviniſts, the leaſt ſhadow of vexation or invective, notwithſtanding the liberty they had acquired by it.

Theſe hiſtorical truths well underſtood ought naturally to have extinguiſhed the fire of religious hatred. It was the policy of the impious ſect to add freſh fuel, and increaſe the flames. With this view Chenier, that odious bard of the revolution, poiſoned the theatres with his cruel lies, and even had the effrontery to repreſent the cardinal of Lorraine bleſſing at Paris the Poignards of St. *Barthelemy*, at that very time, when all our public records prove that he reſided at Rome.

By falſe extracts from hiſtory, by exaggerating and altering facts, and chiefly by miſrepreſentations of the goſpel, and of the ſentiments of true catholics, the ſophiſts had ſucceeded in their attempts to embitter the hearts of the ſouthern Calviniſts. Thoſe of Nimes long too much diſtinguiſhed by a rooted and rancorous reſentment againſt monarchy, and catholicity, entered into all the political views of the revolutioniſts, who already were making preparations for a retreat in that town and neighbourhood, in caſe they ſhould fail in their general ſcheme. All the arms were in the hands of the Calviniſts; and under the pretext of exterminating ariſtocracy, as early as the firſt year of the revolution, they turned them againſt the catholics. Nearly ſix hundred victims, citizens of both ſexes, and of every age were brutally butchered in the ſtreets, in their houſes, and in the public places, before they could have the leaſt ſuſpicion of the cauſe of their being ſo ſacrificed.

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The religious, and prieſts were the chief objects of all this fury. The Capuchins even were arraigned for ariſtocracy, and aſſaulted. The gates of the convent were forced open, and the venerable inhabitants purſued to their dormitories and cells; five of them were maſſacred even at the feet of their altars. An aged man on his knees before an altar, humbly craves the indulgence of five minutes, wherein to prepare his ſoul to appear before God. This granted by the cool cruelty of his executioners, he ſpends the time in prayer more in their behalf than for himſelf: a watch in one hand, and a piſtol in the other, the aſſaſſins having counted the minutes, diſpatch their victim, who falls bathed in his own blood on the ſteps of the ſanctuary.

It would be an unjuſt and falſe aſperſion, if we attributed to all French Proteſtants without diſtinction, cruelties which were deprecated by the greateſt part. Even in the neighbourhood of Nimes, the Calviniſts of Cevennes frequently expreſſed to the Catholics, the indignation they felt againſt the atrocity of theſe aſſaſſinations. In the national aſſembly all the proteſtant deputies, were far from having againſt the catholic clergy either the hatred of Rabaud, or the heart of Barnave. On the contrary, a Calviniſt deputy from Tours, and another Proteſtant deputy from Alſace, conſtantly voted agreeably to the dictates of humanity, juſtice, and the ancient laws in favour of the clergy: they ſigned even, in favor of the Catholic religion, a declaration drawn up by the right ſide of the aſſembly, that that religion was, and ought to remain by law, the predominant religion of the ſtate in France.

We ſhould be guilty of the greateſt injuſtice, did we think that the conduct of the Calviniſts of Nimes, had the approbation of Proteſtants in other countries. Already had appeared in the French journals, proteſtations

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ſent from England againſt that perſecuting and ſanguinary ſpirit. It was leſs incumbent on the Engliſh, than on any other nation to make this apology. All Europe ſpoke loudly in praiſe of the liberality of its conduct. Hiſtory ought to preſerve theſe proteſtations ſo precious to the general cauſe of humanity, and always conferring the higheſt honour on their authors. It muſt alſo not be forgotten, that in France there were Calviniſts by whom the non-conforming prieſts were liberally protected: and in many inſtances they were known to have granted them aſſiſtance, and employments, which they had with contempt refuſed to thoſe, who had taken the oath.

If other proteſtants, and eſpecially thoſe of Nimes, ſuffered themſelves to be influenced by very different ſentiments, they ſhall only be recorded by religion, to convince poſterity that we have pardoned them, and that a ſocial world may put an end to animoſities and rancorous diſſenſions, always fatal to one or the other party, and always ſtamping an indelible ſtain on both.

The ardour of the Calviniſts at Nimes, their bands of an executive power, the ſcourges they employed to extort the fatal oath, proceeded from a ferveſcence of blood, which natural to that country, eaſily changes hatred into frantic cruelty, and zeal into fanaticiſm. The favour they ſhewed the conforming prieſts, muſt be attributed to the nearer advances they ſaw theſe making to the Preſbyterian hierarchy, and inveterate prejudices againſt the Pope and epiſcopacy. Thus it may be ſaid, that it was a zeal for their own religion, that prevailed on theſe Calviniſts to join the conſtitutional intereſt. But it was a hatred of all religion, that impelled their infamous ſophiſts and atheiſts to enforce the oath on the clergy, convinced as they were, that this firſt apoſtacy was a neceſſary ſtep to overturn the altars, and that aboliſhing the catholics would be the beſt deviſable means to enſure a general deſtruction.

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It is not ſurpriſing that the civil conſtitution of the clergy was ſo much ſuſpected by the catholic prieſts when they ſaw it brought forward by men of ſuch impious and violent characters. Their objections to the oath have not been leſs juſtified by the revolutionary conduct of thoſe who took it. Theſe laſt aſſumed more of the appearance of ſoldiers, than of paſtors. A total dereliction of the cuſtom and character of prieſthood, and even of epiſcopacy, ſo far as to join the ranks of rebel battalions with muſkets on their ſhoulders, mount guard in regimentals, and take a part in all the licentious orgies of the populace was the leſs cenſurable part of their conduct. They went ſtill further. By their perjury alone they were involved in all the horrors, that crowded in upon this pretended reform of the church. They ſwore againſt the throne, as they had ſworn againſt the altar: they voted againſt their king with the ſame virulence, with which they had ſworn againſt the papacy. Thoſe even who had refrained from condemning Lewis XVI. to the ſcaffold, as legiſlators, were not the leſs backward as citizens, or rather atrocious rebels, in pronouncing judgment on him, that he was deſerving of death. They all vilely abandoned the church, and not one of them had courage enough to raiſe his voice in favour of his king. They had ſinned againſt the oath of faith, which they had taken to God; they ſinned againſt the oath of inviolability which they had taken to their monarch, defiled the ſacred engagements of prieſthood with incontinence and proſtitution: and they will ſtand convicted to the lateſt poſterity, as accomplices in all the plots, perſecutions, cruelties, and crimes of the legiſlative, and conventional bodies. With the name of a conforming prieſt is aſſociated every idea deſcriptive of the moſt active revolutioniſt, and of one the moſt intereſted in ſeconding the wicked and ferocious views of the jacobins. Impoiſoned by theſe peſtilent men, and with the fury and rage, which they every where conjure up and maintain

maintain in their reſpective pariſhes, France is now in a manner as hell opened in the centre of Europe! What language would have been equal to the deſcription, if Providence had permitted, the greater number of curates and biſhops to ſwear with Brienne and Gregoire! What would France have been with ſixty-four thouſand Fauchets and Chabots!

The election and eſtabliſhment of the conſtitutional clergy.

Diſapppointed as the national aſſembly was in the number of the conforming prieſts, it induſtriouſly haſtened the execution of its decrees by iſſuing out orders for proceeding to the election of new biſhops and curates to replace all thoſe who had not taken the oath. All theſe, eſpecially the biſhops, were to be ſelected among thoſe who moſt warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the national aſſembly, either at Paris or in the provinces. The greateſt difficulty was in replacing the curates and vicars. Many even of thoſe who had taken the oath recoiled with horror, when they were conſcious that they were forcibly to take the places of true paſtors, in order to play the monſtrous part of intruders. In many pariſhes it was not till they had tried ſeven or eight elections that they could find a man ſufficiently determined to accept the charge. The grand means deviſed by the aſſembly were to ſuppreſs the pariſhes themſelves: and according to this plan more than three-fourths would have been retrenched, if they had not met with a ſtrong oppoſition from the country people. In many places they were reduced to the neceſſity of ſuffering the old curates to remain, till the new biſhops could find prieſts correſponding to their views. The firſt conſecrating biſhop in this new ſyſtem was the apoſtate of Autun. Anxious to be put into immediate poſſeſſion of their dioceſes, the greateſt part make their entrance with all the pomp of military parade. The church they were eſtabliſhing was to be a church founded on ſchiſm, and to be wrought up with hereſy and impiety; a church that

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was to exceed all that is recorded of the primitive tyrants in their perſecutions of the prieſthood.

Many occurrences, which I have well atteſted by unqueſtionable witneſſes, though not declaratory of the vengeance of heaven to any degree of evidence, will not be unintereſting to many of my readers on account of their very ſingular combination with the firſt atchievements of the leading and moſt diſtinguiſhed men of this ſchiſmatical church. D'Expilly was choſen on the firſt of November, the feaſt of *All-Saints*. The air was rent with the moſt terrible peals of thunder during the whole of the long ceremony of his election, though at a ſeaſon when ſuch things are very unuſual. This prodigy was ſtill more remarkable that day on which D'Expilly went to take poſſeſſion of the firſt conſtitutional ſee. Surrounded by a numerous guard he was on his march to Quimper. He arrived at the gates of that town about two hours before ſun-ſet. Not a cloud was to be ſeen above the horizon; and the weather remarkably fine. Immenſe crowds of citizens were gathered together, ſome impelled by a revolutionary zeal for this firſt intruder, others enticed by curioſity, and the novelty of a triumphal entrance, all however eagerly deſirous to contemplate the man who was to be the Photius of the revolution. From his triumphal car he had already fixed his eyes on the towers of that cathedral, the ſee of which he was going to ſeize on. On the firſt appearance of his eſcort the air reſounded with ſhouts of acclamation from the revolutioniſts who attended him—when lo! in a moment a veil of darkneſs, direful as the plagues of Egypt, covered the heavens, and involved the car, town and ſpectators in a mournful obſcurity. A general terror ſucceeded, and every mind was fixed on the portentous event. Sorrowful and penſive, a momentary bluſh ſtole on the intruder's face, whilſt his conſcious heart heaved ſome throbbings of remorſe. But theſe were not the firſt emotions of the ſort he had learned to ſtifle. On the evening before

before his conſecration he had once more conſulted a doctor of Sorbonne; and daſhed at the frightful ſpectre of the ſchiſm he was to be the founder of, he promiſed to ſhun for ever Taillerand d'Autun. The next morning, however he bowed his head under the ſacrilegious impoſition of the hands of this apoſtate, and hardened in his error, conſummated the uſurpation.

As obſtinate as he, but more implacable in his hatred, Saives, the firſt intruder biſhop of Poitiers, was more viſibly and more ſeverely chaſtiſed by the avenging hand of God. Scarce ſeated in the chair of intruſion, and ſurrounded by all his council, he was pouring out torrents of fury, and preparing to ſign a decree, which was to put all the faithful prieſts under a general interdict, when he ſuddenly fell down dead: his right hand cloſed, and his arm extended and ſtiffened, were permanent marks of expiring rage.

The pages of an hiſtorian leſs reſerved than myſelf would teem with ſimilar occurrences leſs authentic and leſs public: and Heaven would appear to have been prodigal of ſuch prodigies, if they had all been recorded without diſtinction. But whether the natural effect of rage, or a ſpecial puniſhment, it is certain, that during the firſt days of the ſchiſm many of its principal agents were ſeized by ſudden death: ſome the moment they were haſtening to drive from the altars catholic prieſts who had not conformed, others whilſt they were employed in demoliſhing our temples. Intruders, who had ſtifled all remorſe of conſcience, would not have been converted by more remarkable prodigies. Chaſtagneau, chanter of Vertaiſon, was employed in his function the firſt time the ſchiſmatic paſtor of that church offered up the ſacrifice of the maſs. Though he had ſeen the perjurer drop down dead at the foot of the altar in the middle of the ſacrifice, he was not deterred from becoming the

the intruder of the ſame church. The minds of theſe ſacrilegious prieſts, though reſtleſsly haunted by remorſes, were not to be reclaimed by repentance. They had not the reſolution to retract their errors, though they had not been ſo hardened in iniquity as to be inſenſible of the pangs of guilt. A retroſpect to their crime had bereft many of the uſe of their reaſon.

One of thoſe victims appeared one day in the middle of the legiſlative body, repeating his oath with all the accents of a man diſtracted with remorſe and terror. Another the next morning after his perjury, unable to ſurvive the infamy of his own mind, drowned himſelf in the ciſtern of his garden.

In order to ſupply all vacancies, after the ancient paſtors had been driven from their pariſhes, the intruding biſhops called in the apoſtates of every order, thoſe even who for many years had ſought to conceal their crimes in foreign countries. From the heart of Germany and Holland theſe miſcreants returned, dragging along with them their women and offspring of apoſtacy, and eſtabliſhed themſelves with theſe in the preſbyteries of the new church. Theſe not ſufficing, further recourſe was had to the refuſe of the true clergy, and the ſcum of the laity. All the levites, that had been rejected by their catholic biſhops, either on account of their morals or ignorance, all thoſe who had been ſubjected to cenſures without amendment, were received with open arms by the intruders. Of this diſguſting degradation of the ſanctuary, even the authors themſelves became aſhamed. In a letter to the national aſſembly, Sirey, vicar to the intruder biſhop of Perigueux, painted in melancholy colours the new prieſthood compoſed in all the departments, "of "labourers, who had thrown away their ſpades; of "tradeſmen, who had deſerted their employs; of vaga-"bonds and libertines, who had not found admittance

into

into civilized ſociety." With men of this ſtamp raiſed immediately to prieſthood, it was not difficult for the new biſhops to replace in a ſhort time a great number of curates. The moſt reſpectable paſtors were driven from their preſbyteries by this conſtitutional horde. Still would theſe venerable men have found ſome alleviation in this general diſtreſs, if permitted to remain peaceably with their reſpective flocks, if they had only been indulged with that liberty of worſhip that the French conſtitution had decreed to be the birth-right of every citizen. Further trials were reſerved for the paſtors and their flocks.

Separation of the two churches.

The new church was evidently a church of ſchiſm and hereſy; and all true catholics became convinced in their own minds, that it was no longer lawful for them to join in communion with her, that is, to aſſiſt at her public prayers, the divine office, or the celebration of the ſacred myſteries performed by ſchiſmatical biſhops or curates. In this they did no more than is done by proteſtants themſelves, who pray ſeparately, leſt they ſhould appear to have preſerved the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman faith, by adhering to the paſtors, aſſiſting at the maſs, and other religious duties of that church.

The Pope's briefs.

This conviction was preſſed more forcibly in the minds of the catholics, when they underſtood that the judgment pronounced by the Pope coincided with that of their biſhops. After a long and ſerious ſcrutiny, his Holineſs had given out a firſt, and a ſecond brief, in anſwer to the conſultation of the biſhops. The firſt bore the date of the 10th of March, 1791. It was fraught with the moſt profound wiſdom, and the moſt extenſive erudition, and tempered with the mildeſt moderation. The Pope declared, that it was entirely foreign to his intentions to offer any deciſion on the French revolution, relatively to civil matters or their temporal government, to which he did

did not account himſelf in any manner competent out of his own ſtates. But he entered into the cloſeſt examination of the laws and principles appertaining to the religious government of the clergy, the hierarchy and evangelical dogmas. He did not then pronounce any cenſure on thoſe who had taken an oath to maintain the civic conſtitution of the clergy; but he decided in the capacity of ſovereign pontiff, ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, that that civic conſtitution of the clergy was a chaos of ſchiſm and hereſies.

The ſecond brief was under the date of the 13th of April of the ſame year. The Pope had been informed of the conſecration of the conſtitutional biſhops, of their intruſion, and of the expulſion of the true paſtors, evils which were growing to an alarming height. He declared to be ſuſpended from their order, all thoſe who had taken without reſerve an oath to maintain that conſtitution of the clergy, unleſs they ſhould retract their error within forty days: he annulled the erections of the new biſhops, the elections of the new paſtors, and ſuſpended from their epiſcopal functions all thoſe who had been conſecrated biſhops, contrary to the laws of the catholic church.

As ſoon as theſe briefs were known in France, the jacobins endeavoured to diſcredit them by every method they could poſſibly deviſe, and even to inſtil into the minds of the people the moſt impious contempt of the ſpiritual authority, and the perſon of the Pope. More fury had never been vented againſt the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, by the moſt virulent hereſiarchs. In the garden of the Palais Royal at Paris, and in many other towns, they paraded about on aſſes a manikin in papal coſtume, hawking about his briefs; after ſcenes of the groſſeſt outrages, they ſet fire to a pile of wood, dancing round the flames, and rending the air with blaſphemies, they finiſhed the piece by throwing

throwing into the fire both the briefs and the ſtatue of the ſovereign Pontiff.

As long as they had been able to flatter themſelves that the Pope, from the fear of loſing Avignon, and for many other political conſiderations, would withhold his condemnation of their ſchiſm and hereſy, the jacobins had with the greateſt induſtry inculcated into the minds of the people, very different ſentiments of the authority of the holy See. They had even recourſe to the baſe cunning of counterfeiting, and diſperſing through the country a falſe brief, by which the Pope was made to beſtow the higheſt encomiums on the conforming prieſts, and the ſevereſt cenſures on the others. A bookſeller at Nantes having printed off a forged brief in oppoſition to the true one, juſt as the edition was finiſhed, a ſheet in the hands of a boy, who was drying it on a ſtove, took fire, and the houſe was burnt. One of the bookſeller's daughters was to have been married the next morning: every preparation had been made for the marriage-feaſt: the fire conſumed all her wardrobe, and ſhe expired in the greateſt anguiſh, on the very day appointed for her nuptials.

The impreſſions made on the minds of true catholics by the judgments pronounced in the briefs of his Holineſs, was not to be done away by the deceits or outrages of impiety. They looked up with confidence to the deciſions of their biſhops, and thoſe of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter: and ſo far were theſe deciſions from meeting with any remonſtrances from the other churches, that on the contrary they were every where received with the greateſt deference and reſpect. Reſolved to be guided by the unerring rules of faith, the French catholics were more than ever upon their guard, not to join in communion in ſpiritual duties, with the paſtors of ſchiſm and hereſy.

The

The Calviniſts were allowed churches for their public worſhip not only in France, but in the very centre of Paris, and the Jews their ſynagogues: and by the new laws, the Turks alſo were authoriſed to have their moſques. Leave was requeſted by the catholics to have for the uſe of their worſhip ſome of thoſe churches that had not been occupied by the conformiſts or intruders: ſome of theſe were at laſt obtained, but not without great difficulty and expence. Nothing then could be more edifying than thoſe churches and chapels, where the true catholics aſſembled for preſerving the purity of their faith. The fatal ſeparation had been made between the good and the bad, between truth and hereſy. The two churches were eaſily diſtinguiſhed even by their names: that of the ancient paſtors was called the Catholic, the other the Conſtitution Church. The biſhops belonging to the laſt, even in a letter addreſſed to the Pope, ſtiled themſelves the conſtitutional biſhops.

There was a more ſenſible difference in the morals of the two churches. Within the pale of the ancient church had remained all thoſe of every rank and condition whoſe minds had been eſteemed the beſt informed, and whoſe conduct had been the moſt edifying, whilſt the divine ſervice had been performed by the intruders with an indecency, which added conſiderably to former ſcandals, the piety and devotion of the catholics renewed in every mind the edification of the firſt ages. It was frequently remarked by ſtrangers, that it was unneceſſary to aſk which was the true church, after they had ſeen both the one and the other. Each performed ſeparately the divine worſhip: and if one ſide was marked by indevotion, indifference, and diſſipation, the church was recompenſed on the other, by an increaſe of fervor in its true children.

All

All this was diſpleaſing to the devil, the jacobins, and eſpecially to the intruders. In many places theſe were abandoned by the greateſt part of the people, ſome churches were entirely deſerted, and whole pariſhes on feaſt days flying from the ſchiſmatical paſtor, travelled many leagues to aſſiſt at a maſs celebrated by a catholic prieſt, or to receive from him the ſacraments*.

7th Degree of perſecution Catholics ill-treated, ſcourged, &c. &c.

Thus with that liberty only of divine worſhip, which the conſtitution had promiſed to every citizen without exception, in a ſhort time the greateſt part part of thoſe who had followed the intruders, would have returned to the folds of their lawful paſtors: but then France would not have been decatholiciſed. The impious, in league with the intruders, were unwilling to ſtrengthen by martyrdom the faith they had ſo much wiſhed to deſtroy: aware,

* The Engliſh author, who has publiſhed an Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution, is not well acquainted with the catholic faith, when he pretends that the new paſtors were thus induſtriouſly ſhunned, becauſe the Roman catholics believe that all ſacraments adminiſtered by ſchiſmatics are invalid, that their conſecration is no conſecration, and their baptiſm no baptiſm. The invalidity of ſuch a baptiſm is preciſely a hereſy ſolemnly condemned by the Roman church. In this church it is received as an article of faith, that an infant baptized either by a Jew or a Pagan, does not thereby partake the leſs of the benefit of true baptiſm, and ſanctifying grace. By her is admitted the validity of conſecration made by an apoſtate prieſt, and of confirmation given by an heretical or ſchiſmatical biſhop, provided they themſelves have been validly ordained. But ſtill the catholics believe what is evident, that the adminiſtration of holy things may be valid at the ſame time that it is unlawful: that a prieſt in the ſtate of mortal ſin, though he conſecrate validly, nevertheleſs is himſelf guilty of a ſacrilege. Moreover they believe, that for a valid abſolution the prieſt muſt have received a juriſdiction, which can be granted by the church alone, and which ſhe abſolutely refuſed to the intruders of the revolution. They all ſcrupulouſly alſo avoid all aſſiſting at, or participating of religious ceremonies, celebrated by heretical or ſchiſmatical prieſts, ſo far as this may be conſtructed into an adheſion to, or approbation of errors condemned by the church. This is ſubſtantially the reaſon that induced the faithful to ſhun the falſe paſtors, who had no other juriſdiction, than that which they received from the decrees of the national aſſembly.

aware, as they ſo often aſſerted themſelves to be, that the number of proſelytes to any religion cannot but be increaſed by perſecution. This aſſertion has only been verified, and that miraculouſly, by the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. The hiſtory of all ſects is an inconteſtible proof that they never roſe to importance without the force of arms, and that they never long withſtood a perſecuting power. But Condorcet choſe to falſify hiſtory rather than acknowledge the hand of God in the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. In order to gratify at the ſame time an inſatiable ſpirit of hatred and philoſophiſm, a rival of Julian the apoſtate he ſuggeſted other means, which he qualified with the name of ſimple ridicule. Inſtead of pikes he adviſed the uſe of rods. Paris gave the example, and it was ſoon followed by the provinces.

The flagellation of Catholic women became faſhionable, Ruffians reſorted in crowds with rods to the doors and neighbouring ſtreets of catholic chapels; their making it their buſineſs, both before and after divine ſervice, to diſcover and point out women of the moſt decent appearance, and all thoſe who ſeemed moſt attached to their faith, they indulged themſelves in the moſt ſavage ſport of publickly ſcourging them in the moſt cruel manner, in order to extort from them a promiſe to go to the conſtitutional churches. Theſe ruffians were joined by the proſtitutes and furies collected from the market halls.

Theſe monſters of ingratitude did not even refrain their barbarous hands from the holy women belonging to the charity-houſes, devout perſons, whoſe only care was to attend on the ſick, relieve the poor, and comfort the afflicted. Three of this venerable ſiſterhood in the pariſh of St. Marguerite died in Paris under the rod of the horrible flagellations. At Metz even the children educated by this pious charity were treated with the ſame degree of cruelty, becauſe they refuſed to aſſiſt at the conſtitutional maſs.

maſs. In vain did their ſavage butchers renew their threats and ſcourges: *repeat your blows, kill us,* continued to cry out thoſe children of eight or ten years of age: *we will not change our religion!*

The hoſtile genius of Condorcet invented other trials: and it became a paſtime to cut off the hair and ears of thoſe prieſts and women who perſevered in not acknowledging the falſe paſtors. In the moſt humiliating garbs they were paraded about on aſſes, with labels the moſt inſulting and injurious. In this ſituation they were dragged along the ſtreets and public places with their mouths crammed with hay, whilſt the mob was amuſed with pelting them with filth and ordure.

In many towns, as in Nimes, Montpelier, and Marſeilles, banditti were formed into companies ſtiling themſelves the executive power. Their paſtime was with more maſſive rods to beat down Catholic prieſts, and all thoſe who would not receive other paſtors. In other places, during the divine ſervice, theſe ruffians entered the catholic churches, drove out, or knocked down the prieſts, kicked and buffetted the faithful, overturned the altars, and ſhut up the churches, for which they had exacted payment beforehand.

The juſtification of this odious treatment of the catholics was attempted by the moſt artful hypocriſy: ſo neceſſary was it after all to deceive that ſame populace in order to conquer their attachment to the catholic religion. The intruders reminded them that if the ancient paſtors were permitted to aſſemble and pray ſeparately, it would lead to the eſtabliſhing of two churches, and forming a ſchiſm in France. The people were not aware, that catholic unity did not conſiſt merely in the union of belief of any national paſtors; but that they were to make profeſſion of the ſame faith, be ſubject to the ſame paſtors, and the ſame head of the church as all the other churches

of the whole catholic world. They were too improvident to foreſee that an union with the conſtitutional clergy would be ſo far from preventing a ſchiſm, that it was the direct means to make it become general throughout France, ſince thoſe prieſts were nothing leſs themſelves than falſe paſtors, ſeparated by their doctrine and their miſſion from the whole catholic church ſpread over the world, from all the other paſtors, and from the Pope, or from the univerſal head of the true church.

Much leſs did that populace conceive, though a general liberty of worſhip had been decreed by the aſſembly, that the catholics, who had not abandoned their former paſtors, were to receive the benefit of that liberty as well as others, even without effecting any change in the conſtitutional religion. Conſtitutioniſts were allowed to go over to the Calviniſts, or to follow any other perſuaſion; all were to enjoy full liberty, provided they would abandon their former paſtors. The people well knew that there cannot exiſt two oppoſite religions, and at the ſame time both remain catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman. Willing to be ſtill thought members of the catholic church, they inſiſted that every catholic ſhould accompany them in the change. It was thus that the intruders made uſe of the horror the people had of a ſchiſm to eſtabliſh one, and alſo to rouſe them up to be refractory to thoſe whoſe faithful conſtancy ſooner or later would have made them ſenſible of their deception.

In ſpite of all theſe artifices, this intolerance and cruelty was reprobated by the majority of the national aſſembly. The apoſtate of Autun even himſelf, charged to bring in a report on the ſubject, thought it his duty to inſpire more tolerant and lenient meaſures: and ſo great was his complaiſance on this occaſion, that he wiſhed the catholics to be allowed to expreſs freely their ſentiments on thoſe decrees

decrees that were contrary to their religion. "They "ought," ſaid he in the tribune, "if they chuſe it, not "to be afraid of pronouncing us to be ſchiſmatics: conſe- "quently that worſhip, which they may deſire to cele- "brate apart, whether it differs from ours or not, ought "to be equally free as any other. Without this, religi- "ous liberty is but an empty name: we lie under the juſt "imputation of an intolerant nation, and our conduct "will juſtify in others every degree of perſecution." This report was printed by order of the aſſembly, and copies ſent out to all the departments.

Some of the departments, and among others thoſe of Paris and La Somme, endeavoured, but with feeble efforts, to ſupport the rights of man, in order to enſure to non-conforming prieſts, and thoſe who wiſhed to adhere to them, the free exerciſe of their religious worſhip. Neither influenced by their arrets or their placarts, the intruders and their banditti would not admit the rights of man to attach to true catholics. In Paris even the two intruders of the pariſhes next to the church of the Theatins, acquainted that the catholics had hired and paid for that church, found means to raiſe their ſections into a tumultuous ferment between ten and eleven o'clock at night. They contrived means to penetrate into the church, and with a ſavage fury broke down and demoliſhed the tabernacles, overturned the altars, and made a general plunder. In the midſt of all this fury one of the intruders, named Rouſſineau, irreverently threw out of the ſacred veſſels the conſecrated hoſts, which he conveyed away, and paid no attention to a pious prieſt who ardently preſſed him to ſhew more reſpect to the ſacrament.

In vain were regulations made by the department to p a ſtop to theſe outrages, and nugatory was the permiſſion

granted the catholics to re-eſtabliſh their altars. Banditti, rods, and ſabres broke in upon the divine ſervice, the prieſts were diſperſed, and the ſacriſtan knocked down. An old invalid alone made ſufficient reſiſtance till a prieſt had time to take away the ſacred hoſt. The new altar diſappeared under the hatchets of the plunderers: the church was ſhut up, and a bundle of rods ſuſpended over the door to terrify any catholic in future from exerciſing their religion there. La Fayette, Bailly, and a few others of the conſtituent aſſembly pretended to ſhew ſome diſpleaſure at theſe exceſſes: always remiſs in their endeavours to ſtem the torrent of abuſes, their activity was never efficient, but when they meant to ſecond the views of the banditti. Whilſt all the tribunals were ſhut againſt catholics, the conſtitutioniſts found a prompt and full redreſs of all grievances. One of the flagellants having by chance been ſcourged herſelf had only to make proof of the error of thoſe, who miſtook her for the cook-maid of a non-conforming prieſt, and ſhe received ample ſatisfaction. Some were condemned to be impriſoned, others to be fined: the ſhop-keeper even, who had ſold the rods, paid an hundred crowns. This ſentence, paſſed in the ſuburbs of St. Germain, did not diminiſh any perſecutions againſt true catholics.

Retractation of ſeveral prieſts. In the midſt of this fury of the new church, another event proved to the revolutioniſts the impotency of their rage againſt truth. Thoſe curates and vicars, who had taken the oath more through weakneſs, the dread of ſtarving, or through ignorance more than perverſeneſs of heart, inſtructed by the deciſions of their biſhops, and eſpecially by the briefs of the Pope, were impreſſed at laſt with a due ſenſe of their duty. The fear of incurring religious cenſures, the voice of the whole church unequivocally made known to them, made them conſcious, that their ſpiritual labours,

inſtead

inſtead of contributing to the ſalvation of their pariſhioners, were inſenſibly leading them into error and ruining themſelves.

A great ſhare of reſolution was neceſſary to enable them to retract their error. The aſſembly which had decreed a trifling penſion of five hundred livres for thoſe curates, who had been deprived of their pariſhes for not having taken the oath, withdrew this little income from all thoſe who ſhould retract what they had once ſworn. Their only comfort then was to be ſought in the peace of their conſciences, and the reparation they had to make for the outrage they had offered to God, their faith, and the church. Inſtead of the benefices, of which they were deprived for ever, the retracting prieſts had no other proſpects but what held out to them a life to be ſubjected to wretchedneſs and inſults. Nevertheleſs ſcarce had the papal briefs been publiſhed, when a great number of thoſe who had either yielded to the momentary impulſe of fear, or had been ſeduced by error, were anxious to repair their fault. Their eyes bathed in tears, their minds overwhelmed with confuſion and repentance, they made a public confeſſion of the crime they had been guilty of, before that very people who had before received their oath, or who had in many inſtances extorted it from them; they retracted their perjury in that very chair in which they had uttered it; and to render the whole act more authentic, they called upon the magiſtrates themſelves to enroll what they had done, in the public archives. In order to make the reparation of this ſcandal ſtill more public, many ſent to the preſs their retractation, and of it diſtributed ſeveral thouſands of copies; others conſigned it to all Europe in the public journals.

It was particularly on the approach of death that the conforming prieſts felt the remorſe of their conſciences. Many

Many unhappy wretches, even in that moment, yielded to human reſpects, and appeared impenitent before the tribunal of God: but by far the greater number ſhuddering with horror at the idea of their appearing there defiled with the crime of their perjury, could not die contented, till they had given their retractation every degree of authenticity then in their power. Thus were announced to us in the journals the retractations of the paſtors of Auchy-la-Baſſée in Artois, of Vouzou in Sologne, of Moranne in Anjou, and of many others. It was thus that the laſt favour one of thoſe paſtors ſolicited from the mercy of God, was to prolong his life till the following Sunday. This granted, the laſt favour he had to requeſt from his friends, was to carry him that day to the church. There on his death-bed, ſurrounded by all his pariſhioners in that holy place, and collecting all the ſtrength he was able, he addreſſed them in theſe words: "It was my duty to conduct you in the paths of ſalvation: I led you aſtray, when I took the oath of the conſtitution of the clergy decreed by the national aſſembly. I now retract that oath as contrary to the faith of the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman church, to which, my children, I moſt earneſtly entreat you to return, and to perſevere therein. Too happy in the grant of this moment, wherein I return myſelf to my duty, I humbly crave pardon from you all for the ſcandal I have given. I am ſhortly to appear before the tribunal of God: I confide in his mercy; that he will forgive me the crime of this oath, which I deteſt, and which I retract once more, that I may die in the boſom of the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman church." When he had uttered theſe laſt words, a placid ſerenity appeared on his countenance, he bleſſed God, and died the death of a penitent.

So far were they from being influenced by worldly intereſt in theſe retractations, that on the contrary, it is of the moſt

moſt public notoriety, that many were impelled to take the oath ſolely by the apprehenſion of being otherwiſe driven to the moſt forlorn diſtreſs. This was a truth ſome of them could not diſguiſe. One of the curates on the left ſide had been ſeen to bluſh at the time he took the oath. "I wiſh you joy," cried out a deputy to him from the right ſide, "that you are able as yet to bluſh." "What would you have me do," replied the conforming prieſt, "I muſt live." The deputy did not preſs upon him another truth, the neceſſity of dying, which made the moſt lively impreſſion on the vicar of the dioceſe of Apt. More anxious to meet death in the character of a true prieſt, than to live a daſtard apoſtate, he had the reſolution to mount into the pulpit, and make his retractation in theſe terms. "The proſpect of abſolute want determined me to take "the oath: but though they have named me two livings, "I had rather beg my bread, than accept of either "of them. When I enjoyed my revenues, I was not "unmindful of the poor, I hope you will not now be "unmindful of me."

Frequent were the homages paid by pariſhioners to theſe retractations: and there were inſtances of their flocking round their curate to entreat him to remain amongſt them, promiſing at the ſame time to ſupply all his wants. There are even whole villages in France, whoſe inhabitants undertook, by a general ſubſcription, to ſupport their exiled curates in England: and theſe were never in want while the intercourſe between the two nations remained open. In a ſhort time theſe beneficent purpoſes were all defeated. The jacobin clubs diſperſed throughout the kingdom, redoubled their rage againſt the retracting prieſts, and ſent out their banditti to perſecute both paſtor and pariſhioners: ſo that the curate was under the neceſſity, if he wiſhed to enſure the tranquillity of the pariſh, to conſult his ſafety by a timely flight, or

to

to lie ſomewhere concealed, and be privately maintained by the faithful.

The conduct of many conforming prieſts in a diſtrict of a dioceſe of Tours, may be ſtated to prove, that many retractations were prevented by fear. Knowing that one of their brethren was ſick, they conſulted together, and were of opinion, that they ought not to ſuffer the unhappy man to die in his ſin, and be loſt. They thought it even incumbent on them to forewarn him of the danger he was in. Of their own accord they ſend him a prieſt, who had not taken the oath, and the ſick man retracts. His unhappy counſellors had not reſolution enough to follow his example, as long at leaſt as they remained in health.

The biſhops ſtood not in need of theſe retractations: there were many to whom the people of their dioceſes, extremely anxious to have them remain in their dignities, had propoſed to them to take the oath with any reſtrictions they might judge neceſſary. Theſe prelates, and among others, M. d'Argentré, biſhop of Sèez, though very ſenſible of theſe tokens of affection and attachment, were ſtill apprehenſive of giving a ſcandal, which theſe reſtrictions would not have prevented. Without ſhewing any deference to error, they were reſolved to devote themſelves entirely to the juſtice of their cauſe, and to encourage by their example, the firm and genuine ſpirit of chriſtianity. In reality the firſt appearance of the intruder biſhops was for each of theſe faithful prelates a ſignal of perſecutions, by which they were driven to the neceſſity of either baniſhing themſelves from their dioceſes, or expoſing their lives to imminent danger.

VIII. Degree of perſecution: baniſhing of biſhops: prieſts firſt arreſted.

To be driven from their epiſcopal palaces, in order to make room for the inſtallation of the biſhops of the new religion, as it was the beginning, ſo it was the leaſt of their misfortunes. If they quitted not their dioceſe, if they

they endeavoured to circulate paſtoral letters for the inſtruction of their people, they were beſieged both by day and night, by emiſſaries ſent out either from the intruders, or the clubs, or by armed force commiſſioned by the magiſtrates. Their only aſylum was, to be found in the compaſſion of ſome honeſt citizen, who favored by the darkneſs of the night, protected them in their flight, procured them a boat to put out to ſea in, or to embark on rivers, and through a thouſand dangers, ſaw them ſafe landed on ſome hoſpitable ſhore. Thus, under the firſt aſſembly, M. de la Marche, biſhop of St. Pol de Leon, was reduced to the neceſſity of flying to the hoſpitable ſhores of England, where he afterwards became the diſpenſator of all thoſe charities, which a generous nation has ſo liberally beſtowed on his unfortunate brethren. It was with the greateſt indignation, that the intruders ſaw the ſucceſs which had crowned the labours of this prelate, in whoſe dioceſe not above one or two of the eccleſiaſtics had taken the oath. M. de Cheylux, biſhop of Bayeux, who had been under the neceſſity of going up to Paris, was on his return, in order to ſtrengthen his clergy in their faith: knowing that he was to be betrayed on the road, and to be delivered up to the fury of an enraged populace, he remained not long in his dioceſe, and and was happy in being able to arrive in Jerſey. M. de la Ferronays, biſhop of Lyſieux, narrowly eſcaped from the hands of the banditti, whilſt the municipal council was deliberating on his deſtiny. M. de Themines, biſhop of Blois, was known to be attached to the true principles, and Gregoire his intruding ſucceſſor, a moſt relentleſs tyrant. On this account it became ſoon expedient to the firſt to make his eſcape down the Loire in the night, and embark for Spain. Before this, the palace of the biſhop of Toulon had been pillaged, and having been perſonally threatened with the lamp-poſt, he had retired to Nice. A detail of all the dangers which moſt of the biſhops paſſed through, in their dioceſes, would

much exceed the bounds preſcribed for this narrative. Thoſe of Treguier, of Vannes, M. the archbiſhop of Auch, and ſeveral others, were cited before the tribunals of their reſpective departments. The inſtructions they had given to the faithful, were their pretended crimes. In theſe a diſcovery was to be made of principles of an incendiary tendency: after the moſt ſevere ſcrutiny, nothing appeared but leſſons of patience, peace, public order, and the ſound principles of chriſtian faith. If theſe were to be deemed crimes by the revolutioniſts, they did not heſitate to plead guilty. A rational liberty to preach this faith, was the only privilege they petitioned for. Circumſtanced as they were, they could not be ſuſpected of any human views inimical to the ſtate. The tenor of their general conduct, all their inſtructions, ſpoke loudly and forcibly in their favor. "Only grant us," ſaid they, "a peaceable enjoyment of the goſpel, and the dogmas of our faith: ſuffer us to be faithful in our duty to God, and in the paſtoral charges over our flocks, and you ſhall find our ſubmiſſion ſatisfactory in every other walk of life. Let your new biſhops enjoy the benefices of our churches, and your penſions. Moreover, withhold from us, if you pleaſe, at your own diſpoſal, thoſe annual ſums, which your decrees have aſſigned us in recompenſe for thoſe riches and benefices, which you have deprived us of. Though you ſhould chuſe even to transfer theſe remnants of our fortunes from us to the conforming prieſts, and conſtitutional biſhops, we will not repine. Deprived of every civil emolument, we ſhall ſtill be happy in conducting the faithful in the paths of religion, by a conſtant performance of our gratuitous functions. May God, whoſe providence has charged us with theſe duties, ſee us fulfil them: and may our flocks, thus maintained in the principles of true religion, be finally ſaved through our miniſtry. This is the ſum of all our wiſhes, theſe the ſole conditions of that compact which we ſue for with you."

Theſe

Theſe offers ſolemnly made in moſt of the paſtoral inſtructions of the true biſhops, and eſpecially in thoſe of M. de Themines, as they breathed a primitive ſpirit of zeal and piety, muſt have challenged the admiration of the magiſtrates and intruders. Theſe nevertheleſs purſued more vigorouſly every meaſure by which they could haſten the baniſhment of the faithful paſtors from their dioceſes, and thus preclude the impreſſions, which their virtues and inſtructions were ſure to make upon the people.

The imprisonment of the biſhop of Sénez.

The ardour with which theſe meaſures were purſued, appeared no where more viſibly, than in the perſecution raiſed againſt M. de Bonneval, biſhop of Sénez. This worthy prelate, as ſoon as he was apprized of the project that had been formed to ſeparate him from his flock, oppoſed the intruder, by whom he was threatened, with all the intrepidity of an apoſtle. As early as the month of Auguſt, 1790, he ſhewed great activity in his endeavours to prevent a ſchiſm, both by private letters and public inſtructions. Already did he ſeem to have a preſentiment of the conflicts he had to ſuſtain againſt the errors of the times: and then even the conſtitutional magiſtrates might have been fully convinced of the reſoluteneſs of his character, in theſe words, worthy of a Chryſoſtom, a Hilary, or an Ambroſe. "My life is in the hands of man; but my ſoul belongs to God alone. If it be the will of the Lord to make a trial of his own, the eighteenth century as well as the firſt will have its martyrs." Afterwards, in the face of the uſurper of his dignity, he declared publicly, that he would not abandon his dioceſe; and that he would remain with his flock, to maintain the faithful in the tenets and union of the church.

The intruders and their conſtitutional magiſtrates, well knew M. de Sénez to be a man of a moſt determined character,

character, and that this reſolution was not to be overcome but by falſe accuſations and violence—they employed both. On the ſecond of July, the mayor of his city forewarned him himſelf, that he was bound in prudence to quit it: and from other quarters he received certain information, that the next morning he would at leaſt be moſt rudely inſulted. His mother bathed in tears, and his friends all alarmed, threw themſelves at his feet. Yielding at laſt to their ſolicitations, he conſented to retire to the houſe of a private friend in the dioceſe. Apprized of the route he was to take, the municipal officers of Annot arreſted him as a ſuſpected perſon: numerous citizens offer bail, and by the conſtitutional laws he ought immediately to have been liberated: in open defiance of theſe laws the captive prelate is conducted to Digne, under the eſcort of four and twenty national guards. A report is given out, that they had diſcovered in his papers a plan of a counter-revolution, in twenty-five articles: this is proved to be falſe by ſubſequent legal inquiries, and by an examination of his papers. The department refuſes to grant him a trial, though he is deſirous to appear, and under the ſame eſcort he is ſent back to Fort Seyne. Inſtead of murmurs and complaints, the joy and tranquillity of the confeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt appear on his countenance; and the people flocking round him, cry out, "This is not the countenance of a guilty man." Troops of banditti collected for the purpoſe, endeavour to counteract theſe impreſſions, by repeated ſhouts of, *To the lamp-poſt.* The holy prelate rejoices in his ſufferings, and is ſolely afflicted for the guilt of their enormities.

With all the humiliating ſhew and publicity, with which malefactors are led to priſon, there to rid the world of them and their crimes, this reſpectable biſhop is ignominiouſly conducted through a great part of his dioceſe, to be confined in Fort Seyne. The unclouded ſerenity of his mind, his affability, his uniformly meek and

and tractable ſubmiſſion in all that he ſuffered, aſtoniſhed even his guards. They were all amazement, when, after having yielded themſelves to the hurry and fatigue of a long journey, and repairing after a ſhort repoſe to the apartment, where they had negligently confined him, apprehenſive leſt he had made his eſcape, they found him in the humble poſture of fervent prayer, at three o'clock in the morning. Arrived at Fort Seyne, he is immediately ſhut up in an open apartment, which having no windows, expoſed him to all the intemperature of the weather. There he is precluded from every ray of human comfort. Generous friends make him a tender of their company, in order to diſſipate the tedioufneſs inſeparable from the ſolitude of his ſituation: but he is allowed no other company but that of the national guards, who keep a ſtrict watch over him both by day and night. In contradiction to the moſt explicit laws of the conſtitution, no ſpecific chargeis brought againſt him, till two days after his being arreſted. By this charge all the accuſations of complots immediately vaniſh: and the only crime he is accuſed of by his judges is, that he had exerciſed epiſcopal functions in his own dioceſe, and perſevered in retaining the title of biſhop, even after the intruſion of him, whom laymen had preferred in his place, to the dignity of biſhop of Sénez.

This decree was a ſubject of joy and comfort to M. de Bonneval, as by it he was moſt amply convinced, that the faithful diſcharge of his paſtoral duties, in guarding his flock againſt the ravenous wolf, which had been led on againſt it by ſchiſm and hereſy, was the only cauſe of all his perſecutions. This ſatisfaction of his ſoul, did not ſcreen his body from the injuries of the air. His face was burnt, his lips ſwoln and broken, and his eyes fatigued with the exceſſive heats of the dog-days: the rain, which fell in his chamber, had brought on rheumatic complaints; and violent head-aches augmented the

diſtreſs

diſtreſs of all his other infirmities. All this he ſupported for eight and twenty days, in expectation that the judges would cite him to their tribunal. In order at laſt to obtain this favor, he was obliged to write to the preſident of the aſſembly, and to the ſelf-ſtyled eccleſiaſtical committee. After fifty days impriſonment he received orders to be conducted before the diſtrict of Caſtellane. His paſſage to that town was the triumph of virtue in chains. Crowds of people drew together every where to ſee him paſs by. Men, women, children, laymen and prieſts, proſtrate themſelves before him, kiſſed his habit, his pontifical ring, and even his feet: all aſked his bleſſing, and all loudly declared him to be their father, their true, and only paſtor.

But what moſt ſenſibly affected M. de Sénez, was the effect which his impriſonment and conſtancy had produced in thoſe prieſts of his dioceſe, who, yielding to the terrors of perſecution, had taken the oath of ſchiſm and hereſy. Reanimated by his example, many who had fallen roſe again, by a public retractation of their perjury. On his firſt entrance into his dioceſe, when on his return from Seyne, in the firſt of his pariſhes, the curate and vicar of Tarlonne beg to be introduced to him. Both of them unfortunately had taken the oath; and both then anxiouſly haſten to pay him the homage of a ſincere converſion. M. de Sénez, overpowered with the fatigue of a nine hours journey over a very mountainous country, and afflicted with rheumatic pains, had laid down on a mattreſs and began to doze. The penitent curate having obtained permiſſion from the guards to ſee his biſhop, emphatically addreſſed him in theſe words: "My lord, "I am again worthy of you: I have ſolemnly retracted "the oath that I had the misfortune to take!" Never had M. de Sénez been more agreeably awakened: riſing from his couch he threw his arms round the curate bathed in a flood of tears: "It is then you, my dear paſtor: it

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" is you whom I find again, and whom I embrace in " our common faith! Oh! how much I congratulate with " you, my dear friend, on your return to the church! " In this moment I forget all my pains and afflictions, " too happy, that what I have ſuffered has been uſeful " to you." Thus the true paſtor, a priſoner and in chains, brought back to the paths of ſalvation his ſheep that had gone aſtray, whilſt the intruder biſhop, enjoying full liberty in his palace, and ſupported by all the public force, ſaw himſelf abandoned even by thoſe who had been ſeduced by ignorance or violence.

Arrived at Caſtellane, M. de Sénez was for ſome time proviſionally liberated. During this interval his devout conduct, and frequent viſits to thoſe churches which had not been infected with the ſchiſm, contributed greatly to the edification of the public. He was every where attended by the bleſſings of the people, though the tribunal had then very different views upon him. He appeared before his judges far more exulting in the declaration he had to make of his faith and conduct, than intimidated by all their threats. He never once had harboured a thought of denying, that he had either adminiſtered the ſacraments, or conferred ordination on his levites. He avowed it; he did not deny it. " Called from above to conduct thoſe ſouls which have been truſted to my care, and accountable for them at the tribunal of our ſovereign Judge, *theſe are his own words written to the preſident and committee of the national aſſembly*, I have willingly appeared before the tribunal of Caſtellane: and have made a conſcientious declaration, that I firmly believe I hold my miniſtry from God, and not of men. Unconnected with every other intereſt, devoted to the ſervice of this God alone, biſhop of Sénez by his vocation, and inveſted with the character of his authority in the exerciſe of my ſacred functions, I judged it incumbent on me not to refuſe my levites the impoſition of hands, to the faithful in general

general the ſacrament of ſpiritual nouriſhment, to children who looked up to me as their father, the bread of divine truths, the aſſiſtance and comforts of their faith. As long as my tongue and my right arm ſhall be free, that ſhall evangelize, this ſhall bleſs my people."

It was not difficult for M. de Sénez to prove, that, whilſt he abided by this rule of conduct, he had not offended againſt the laws of the national aſſembly. They dared not to accuſe him of having ever offered the leaſt violence to thoſe, who flying from his inſtructions might have choſen to follow thoſe of the intruders. Whenever he inculcated a horror of apoſtacy, he was moſt religiouſly careful at the ſame time to enforce on the minds of the people a love of peace, a reſpect for public order, and a dutiful ſubmiſſion to the laws in every civil concern. Emboldened by innocence, he ſpoke to his judges with all the authority of an apoſtle, the tenderneſs of a father, and with all the intereſt of a paſtor more deſirous to reclaim thoſe of his flock, who had gone aſtray from their faith, than to juſtify himſelf before the tribunal of the crimes falſely laid to his charge. The people aſſembled from all parts to hear his trial, admired his tranquility and courage. They beheld their apoſtle, their father in chains, and they ſhed tears of compaſſion. This was not unnoticed by the judges, and they were fearful of the event. By law they were obliged to paſs ſentence before they left the court: they tranſgreſſed this law, to put off to the next day a judgment which they durſt not pronounce before ſo many witneſſes of his innocence. The next day he was condemned to be baniſhed: the only anſwer he returned was in the words of St. Cyprian, "Thanks be to God." This ſentence was to be confirmed by the judges of Barcelonette, and M. de Sénez was again delivered over to his guards to be conducted thither. All honeſt people were in the greateſt

greateſt conſternation: he alone appeared unalterably calm and chearful. Part of the people, and all his clergy, accompanied him to the gates of Caſtellane; and there this tender father of his flock, embracing his children with the warmeſt effuſions of tenderneſs, took his leave with theſe words: "Adieu, my friends; force and violence "may for ſome time ſeparate our bodies, but it is not "in the power of man to ſeparate our ſouls, nor the "faithful flock from the true paſtor. I have been, I "am, and will be your biſhop to my laſt breath. Let "us all be equally attached to truth, and the church of "Jeſus Chriſt."

Moved by compaſſion and tenderneſs, both the laity and clergy, with tears in their eyes, again expreſs in the moſt animated terms the bitterneſs of the grief which they feel for the loſs of him, and ſolemnly ſwear to him, and to that church, whoſe biſhop and confeſſor he is, an eternal fidelity. They proſtrate themſelves at his feet, and for the laſt farewel conjure him to bleſs them: he raiſes his hand up to heaven: he fervently implores the divine Being to beſtow upon them the gifts of fidelity and conſtancy in their faith and holy conduct, and having bleſſed them, he delivers himſelf up to his guards to continue his journey. Thus St. Chryſoſtom formerly quitted Conſtantinople, after having fortified againſt a ſchiſm the faithful, and prieſts of his dioceſe.

The biſhop of Sénez, eſcorted by a troop of horſe, was obliged to repaſs the mountains and return to Barcelonette. On his arrival a general amneſty ſtopped all further proceedings before that tribunal. Neverthelefs other perſecutions raiſed againſt him continued with ſuch an unrelenting fury, that finding it impoſſible to return to his dioceſe, he retired to Nice, where he found many of his brethren baniſhed for the ſame cauſe. "The impious will not believe it," ſays he in a letter from thence, "but

" but misfortunes may have their charms. My enemies " have deprived me of every thing moſt dear to me. I " have preſerved my religion and my honor."

Sentence paſſed on the biſhop of Gap.

M. la Broue de Vareilles, biſhop of Gap, was treated by his judges with leſs ſeverity. He had previouſly acquainted the intruder biſhop, that, if ever he aſſumed to himſelf that authority, which the church alone can confer, he would put the laws of that church in execution againſt him. Afterwards he actually excommunicated him for having publiſhed diſpenſations ſolely within the juriſdiction of the lawful paſtor. The intruder and his counſel made no reply to this cenſure, but cited M. de Vareilles to appear before a lay tribunal. They did not appear but by their attorney: M. de Vareilles appeared in perſon. His firſt declaration was, that he did not admit lay magiſtrates to be competent judges in the cauſe before them. The ſentence he had paſſed on the intruder was ſimply an eccleſiaſtical cenſure, which affected only the ſoul of the guilty perſon. He obſerved that it was very extraordinary, that the intruders even ſhould appeal to a lay tribunal againſt a ſpiritual cenſure. But thoſe men of the new church had no other arms but thoſe of force, to oppoſe to the truths of religion.

M. de Vareilles then gave in an account of his faith and conduct, which he demonſtrated to be conformable to religion, to that authority which he had received from Jeſus Chriſt, and to his duty, by which he ſtood charged to preſerve his dioceſe from falſe paſtors. The intruders moreover accuſed him of having diſtributed papal briefs. Theſe briefs contained nothing but leſſons of faith, which it was the duty of every biſhop to make known to the faithful, to confirm them in truth by the authority of the head of the church. The magiſtrates themſelves were grieved at the accuſation. They were all perfectly acquainted

acquainted with M. de Vareilles, and well knew that his conduct had been the moſt prudent, and his endeavours the moſt earneſt for the preſervation of peace and order in his dioceſe. They admired his modeſty and tranquillity, and were unwilling to condemn him. They thought it nevertheleſs neceſſary to ſcreen themſelves from the fury of the intruders, by making them ſome conceſſions. The aim of theſe was to have M. de Vareilles baniſhed; but his judges had for him too much reſpect and attachment to wiſh him to be at a diſtance from them. He was therefore that time acquitted, after having been fined in a ſum of ſix hundred livres to be diſtributed to the poor, as they well knew that was the moſt agreeable and habitual uſe of his fortune.

A conforming curate had joined the intruders, and poured out a torrent of abuſe and calumny. M. de Vareilles ſuffered patiently the abuſe, proved the calumnies, and intreated his judge to forget them as he did. He was conſtant in his refuſal of any indemnifications which they ſeemed diſpoſed to grant him, returned God thanks for the pardon he had been able to obtain for the calumniator, and that it remained ſtill in his power to labour in his dioceſe for the ſalvation of ſouls, at a time when the violence of perſecution had driven moſt of the other paſtors from their flocks.

This ſame year the national aſſembly aſtoniſhed the chriſtian world by an act of impiety, which in extravagant malignity far exceeded all the perſecutions and baniſhments of the miniſters of religion. On the higheſt eminence in Paris ſtands a majeſtic temple, dedicated to St. Genevieva, the ancient patroneſs of that capital of France: a monument lately finiſhed at the immenſe expenſe of more than eighty millions of livres, and forty years labour. The contemplation of this auguſt fabric naturally feaſted the mind of the devout chriſtian with

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the conſolatory idea, that he lived in an age that was to be highly diſtinguiſhed by the munificent piety of the French nation.

Four naves joining in the form of a Greek croſs, reſembled the union of four immenſe temples, which from the four cardinal points of the world invited true adorers to a central altar, crowned by a magnificent dome. Around the interior of theſe naves the greateſt maſters of bas-relief had exhauſted all their powers to collect under one general view all that had been intereſting in religion from the origin of the world. In the higher nave the firſt parents of mankind, Moſes, the prophets, and the kings of Juda, recalled to the recollection of the beholder the law and prodigies of the firſt teſtament. Under the cupola of the dome was repreſented Chriſt delivering the keys to St. Peter. The Roman pontiffs received them from Peter, and tranſmitted them in an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the beginning of chriſtianity. On the right were the martyrs, patriarchs, and doctors of the oriental, and on the left the heroes and holy biſhops, of the occidental church. Facing the central altar, the fourth nave preſented to France its Deniſes, Hilaries, and all that was ſacred in the records of its eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Over the altar ſtately columns of porphyry, with ornaments of maſſive gold, were deſigned to ſupport a rich canopy, where, repoſed amidſt rubies and emeralds, the pious aſhes of a virgin, whom, from the humble walks of a ſhepherdeſs, an extraordinary ſanctity and numerous miracles had raiſed to the diſtinguiſhed rank of protectreſs of the kings, and capital of the French empire. Under an immenſe portico, rivalling in beauty and elegance the maſter-pieces of ancient or modern Rome, the ſculptured virtues of St. Genevieva challenged a reverence and reſpect for that illuſtrious virgin, in whoſe honor the auguſt monument had been raiſed. Hell was jealous of the ſacred pile.

At

At a time when the world was not ſo perverſe as to diſown the exiſtence of a ſupreme and ſovereign power over mortals, the being jealous of the true God had conjured up every where phantoms of gods in hatred of him, whoſe reign is uncontrouled throughout the boundleſs expanſe of the univerſe. In theſe latter times this enemy of the attributes and perfections of God, hebetating the minds of a numerous ſect of ſophiſts, with the ſtupor of conſummate depravity, had planned a ſcholaſtic ſyſtem, teaching the art of either denying or hating this divine Being. The devil wiſhed to have temples erected for atheiſts, and the national aſſembly furniſhed them. It had decreed for its great men all the pomp and triumph of an apotheoſis of ancient Rome, and its great men were thoſe, whoſe moſt daring impiety and abandoned profligacy had qualified them to be the leading heroes of the revolution.

In the flower of his age, and in the midſt of the projects of his rebellion, died Mirabeau. The aſſembly went into mourning, and decreed, that the firſt great man of France was he, who firſt adviſed the deſtruction of religion as a neceſſary ſtep towards effecting a revolution. It alſo enacted, that the moſt ſuperb monument erected in France to God and his ſaints, ſhould be converted into a mauſoleum for thoſe who had moſt openly declared themſelves enemies of both: that France, inſtead of Genevieva, ſhould reverence in the moſt magnificent of its temples Mirabeau, and all thoſe whoſe hatred for the throne and altar had rendered them worthy of an equal reſpect.

By virtue of this decree, the genuine offspring of Satan or Condorcet, the names of God and Genevieva in the frontiſpiece were obliterated, and the croſs taken down. The chiſel of hatred mutilated or deſtroyed, at the immenſe expence of eleven hundred thouſand livres, the maſter pieces of art in the baſs-reliefs; which had been

been conſecrated by the chiſel of religion. Never before had the aſſembly made ſo ſcandalous an uſe of the national treaſure, and never had it ſhewn leſs regret for having ſquandered ſo great a ſum. The emblems of God, and the images of his apoſtles, were replaced by garlands, ſtandards of rebellion, and trophies of irreligion.

Then only was this temple deemed worthy to receive the remains of the great men of the aſſembly. Then that man, whom France not long before had bluſhed to have produced; that man, whoſe heart morally and phyſically corrupted had been conſumed by an ignominious putrefaction, which ultimately had pervaded the whole ſyſtem of his body; that man, in whom public juſtice ought to have puniſhed, violated hoſpitality, rapes and rapines committed by force of arms, and the aſſaſſins poniard lifted up againſt the victims of his perfidious and avaricious amours; that man, whom his judges regretted they had not delivered up into the hands of the executioner, who had obliged his monarch to repent ever having been able to grant him a reprieve, and reſcue him from the ſcaffold; that man, the ſhame of his mother, the torment of his father, the terror of his king, and the bane of all faith and religion, was carried in triumph, and placed on an altar by thoſe very men, who had been ſtamped with the infamy of having been his brethren, and had been his accomplices in all his crimes both againſt the altar and the throne. The avenging hand of God had ſtruck him, and plunged his ſoul in the abyſs of hell, when his cadaverous body in the car of ovation, perfumed by the incenſe of impiety, and attended by immenſe crowds of citizens, received all the honors of patriotic worſhip. The place which covered theſe impure remains, was not however to bear his name. By the decrees of the national aſſembly it was to be called a *Panthcon*; but by public indignation, a *Pandemonion*.

Sevent y

Seventy years conſumed in blaſphemies, ſophiſms, ſarcaſms, falſehoods, and a virulent hatred of Chriſt and his ſaints, had placed Voltaire at the head of all the impious ſects of the age. His diſciples complained of the obſcurity of the place, which contained his aſhes at twenty leagues diſtance from Paris, and ſolicited for him the honor of an apotheoſis. The merits of the whole collective body of impiety, had not as great a title to this new triumph, as Voltaire himſelf. Never before had the abuſe of great talents ſerved ſo efficaciouſly the cauſe of irreligion: never had man inſtilled with ſo much art the poiſon of error and vice, ſtrewed the paths of falſehood and corruption with ſo many flowers, debauched youth with ſo many charms, made ſo many apoſtates, ruined ſo many ſouls, or cauſed ſo much affliction in the church. His pen was the ſword of Mohammed in the weſt. All the impious wits of the day acknowledged him to be their father, as he had been the child and diſciple of all the ſophiſts of paſt ages. The triumph of Voltaire was the triumph of all the ſchools the declared enemies of Jeſus Chriſt. All this had been ſanctioned by the decrees of the national aſſembly. Impious deputies, jacobin clubs, hordes of banditti, and their blind followers filled up the train, and France now groans under the load of impiety and profligacy without having the power or reſolution to ſhake it off.

The Hercules of ſophiſts, the uncontroulable Rouſſeau, obſtinately perſevering to combat thoſe ſacred truths, which he profeſſed to admire, but had too much pride to ſubmit to, had alſo his titles, and very ſtrong titles to the apotheoſis of incredulity. This had alſo been decreed to him by the aſſembly. His aſhes were preſerved in the elyſium of Girardin. A reſpect for that property, and for the worſhip which his diſciples paid him there, was the only obſtacle which precluded him from the honors of the Pantheon.

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The intruders of the conſtitutional church, were witneſſes of all theſe diſtinguiſhed triumphs of impiety and atheiſm. At a time when it remained doubtful by what decrees the religion of Chriſt was the moſt outraged, by thoſe who changed his temples into theatres and haunts of profligacy, or by thoſe who placed upon his altars Voltaire and Mirabeau, the intruders and conformiſts of the new church were not the leſs induſtriouſly employed in inculcating into the minds of the people, a thorough perſuaſion, that a renewal of the moral conduct and piety of the primitive chriſtians, was the grand object of the revolution. The moſt active meaſures were adopted for baniſhing the former prieſthood; and diſtricts, banditti, and clubs having been excited againſt the true paſtors, already as early as the month of Auguſt and September, theſe had all been driven from their dioceſes. Still the bare exiſtence even of this clergy was a thorn in the ſides of falſe politicians, and impious intruders. The epoch of the twentieth of June, the fatal voyage of Lewis XVI. ſo unfortunately arreſted at Varennes, had intercepted every ray of a comfortable hope.

New meaſures taken againſt the prieſts: refuſal of their penſions.

Already in a prodigious number of depoſed curates, biſhops driven from their dioceſes, or clergymen deprived of their benefices, avarice had diſcovered men, to whom a ſmall part of their former effects had been aſſigned for their ſubſiſtence. Whatever ſpirit of economy had dictated that allowance, an exact calculation was ſtill made of all the millions that would be neceſſary for the payment of the penſions of the plundered clergy. Their preſence alone, it was not difficult to foreſee, would continually reproach the people with having changed their religion. Already had the jacobins concerted meaſures to diminiſh the number of ſo many prieſts. The agents appointed for the payment of the penſions conducted themſelves in ſuch a manner, that it was too eaſy

eaſy to ſee they had received ſecret orders to create delays, and diſtreſs the penſioners by want. The ſlighteſt pretext of inciviſm was deemed a ſufficient reaſon for abſolute refuſal of payment to ſome; for others, the formalities they were to go through were inconceivable: and when they were complied with, innumerable other difficulties were ſtarted. A rude anſwer frequently put off to the next day, a week, or ſometimes ſeveral months, men who had been left deſtitute of every other reſource, and whom we have ſeen reduced to the neceſſity of receiving alms for their daily maintenance. If they applied again on the day appointed, they were told that no remittances had come from the treaſury. Inſolent agents anſwered, that then they had no time: and brutal ones often added inſult and deriſion to further delays. It was a melancholy ſight to behold venerable paſtors, aged men bending under the weight of abſolute want, crowds of prieſts waiting at the doors of the agents, ſilent and faſting, under every preſſure of extreme diſtreſs. Though cruelly humiliating, many were under the abſolute neceſſity of ſubmitting to this mode of relief; whilſt others, ſhocked at the unworthy treatment, renounced their penſions. But the conſtancy of the clergy was not to be ſhaken by either ſhame or diſtreſs: though they knew that all the conformiſts were regularly paid, without meeting with any injuries or hardſhips, they were not on this account the more induced to be guilty of perjury. On the departure and return of the king, the prieſts ſo faithful to the dictates of their conſciences were every where expoſed to new inſults and outrages. Men, who having been ſhut up their whole life time in their diſtant villages, had never even ſeen the court, were accuſed of being leagued with it in conſpiracies againſt the nation. Almoſt every where they were obliged to abſcond, till the firſt fury cauſed by the effort of a prince to fly from his impriſonment had abated. Theſe com-

motions were of a longer duration in the departments of Finiſterre and Mayenne.

The firſt impriſonment of the prieſts at Breſt.

In conſequence of an order iſſued out by that firſt department, guards and banditti diſperſe themſelves through the towns and country: the curates, vicars, and other non-conforming prieſts are every where arreſted as ſuſpicious perſons; and are hurried away and crowded into a convent of Carmes at Breſt. Many, and among others F. Eliſæus, provincial of the Carmes, do not arrive thither without having ſeveral times been in imminent danger of loſing their lives. That religious man was well known to have rendered the moſt eminent ſervices to his neighbours in all that canton. M. Squazen curate of St. Pierre was in ſtill greater danger: his purſuers had already taken down the fatal lantern, when he was reſcued by the guard, and conveyed to priſon the moment they were fitting the cord round his neck. About the end of June, ſeventy of theſe paſtors were ſubjected to the ſavage guard of forty-armed ruffians, ſelf-ſtyled patriots, who brutiſhly haraſſed them day and night, both in the church, and in their apartments.

In the mean time had been raiſed up againſt the priſoners the ſcum of the port, partly made up of liberated galley-ſlaves, whoſe confinement generally contributes more to the depravity of their future conduct, than to the expiation of their former crimes. The magiſtrates of Breſt were aware, that in a ſhort time, they would not be able to control ſo ferocious a rabble, and petitioned the department, that the prieſts might be removed to a place of greater ſecurity. Their petition was rejected. The atrocious d'Expilly, intruder biſhop of Quimper, thought Breſt a proper place for their confinement. As yet a legiſlator, he diſpatched from his committee the orders

orders of a tyrant, and inſiſted on their not being removed to any other place. This letter had all the force of a law. He did not charge them with any crime: for the only one they could poſſibly be made to appear guilty of, was that they refuſed to acknowledge the lawfulneſs of his intruſion. Their impriſonment was conſiderably prolonged with the dreadful proſpect of every day being probably their laſt. But the moment for the great hetacomb was not as yet come. The king, a priſoner in the Thuilleries, having at laſt ſanctioned the new French conſtitution, the national aſſembly publiſhed an amneſty, which itſelf and its banditti alone ſtood in need of. The departments of Finiſterre would not allow the public benefit to be extended to the prieſts of Breſt. No formality of public juſtice had preceded their arreſtation, no crime had been ſpecified, no judge had been commiſſioned to try them, and yet the department would have them alone excepted from the general amneſty. By ſome of its members it was at laſt made ſenſible of the inhuman ſeverity of this proceeding, and a commiſſary was appointed. Having aſſembled the venerable confeſſors, he addreſſed to them a long diſcourſe imbittered with the vileſt calumnies, and the moſt abuſive threats. In all the functions of a humane magiſtrate, thoſe moments muſt be the ſweeteſt in which he reſtores falſely impeached innocence to its former liberty. This ſentiment was not congenial to the feelings of the commiſſary. The majeſtic ſilence of the priſoners, under all the ſtorms of his calumnies, only added new fuel to his rage: but in ſpite of all his invectives, ſentence was to be paſſed: and by virtue of the general amneſty they were ſet at liberty. The only conſolation afforded the orator was in reading the decree of the department, by which they were abſolutely forbidden to return to their reſpective homes, their parents, and friends. Thus was the amneſty for them the beginning of their exile, even then

holding out to them the uncertain proſpect of life or death. The law by which paſſports had been ordered, was then aboliſhed for all. The diſtrict inſiſted on its ſtill being in force, againſt theſe unfortunate prieſts, and they were obliged to go and receive their paſſports at the other extremity of the town. On the road crowds of banditti ruſhed in upon them from every quarter, and every moment they had reaſon to apprehend that they had only been liberated from their priſon to fall a ſacrifice to an unprincipled mob. Providence abated for a while the fury of the multitude, and theſe perſecuted men retired from a town, which might juſtly have been accounted the centre of revolutionary rage, if there had not been a Marſeilles and a Paris. The pious inhabitants of the country, actuated by very different ſentiments, waited impatiently for their enlargement. As ſoon as the worthy prieſts appeared, they all preſſed forward to receive them with open arms. Beſtowing on them every bleſſing, and every token of compaſſion, they hoſpitably offered them their houſes for an aſylum, and the grateful ſhepherds mingled their tears with thoſe of their faithful flocks. But the day was not far off, when other decrees were to rend aſunder theſe bonds of mutual comfort and happineſs.

The ſpirit of perſecution was equally outrageous in Anjou and Maine. The adminiſtrative bodies of Maine and Loire iſſued out orders for the troops of the line, and the national guards of the departments, to ſeize all the arms they ſhould find in the houſes of the nobility both in town and country, and eſpecially to conduct to Angers all the non-conforming prieſts whom they ſhould diſcover on their march. Peaceable in their retirement a hundred of thoſe prieſts were laid violent hands on by theſe parties of ſoldiers, without ever having in the leaſt ſuſpected that they ſhould be arraigned as authors of the king's

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flight. Surrounded by guards, who continually poured out upon them torrents of imprecations, railleries, and threats, they were treated with the ſame ſeverity as the greateſt criminals, and no ſooner arrived at Angers than they were thrown into Priſon, where all intercourſe between their relations or themſelves was cut off, where avaricious jailors allowed them no bread but at an exorbitant price, and where national guards with bayonets fixed added the moſt ſavage treatment to the rigor of their priſon.

At Chateau Gonthier in the department of Mayenne, two intruders were very ſolicitous, that all non-conforming prieſts in their town and diſtrict ſhould be treated with equal ſeverity. The municipal officers, dreading the power and virulence of the jacobin clubs, durſt not refuſe to comply with their ſolicitations. Mr. Brillet a tanner, Mr. Hommeau a public writer, and Mr. Perrotin a goldſmith, were the only three, who had virtue and courage enough to oppoſe the torrent of this iniquitous tyranny. Sixty prieſts were hurried away, and confined in the cells of a Benedictine convent. The guards were doubled; leſt they ſhould make their eſcape. The town was illuminated at night, and during the day ſentinels had orders to fire on all thoſe prieſts, who ſhould even appear at the windows. All charitable perſons, who wiſhed to comfort them in their diſtreſs, were inſulted. The mayor ſhewed himſelf at the convent, but it was only to add freſh outrages to their confinement. After ſome time they were allowed to take the air for two hours in a lower court, and at laſt to walk in the garden. Some friends fortunately warned them, that this laſt indulgence was only meant as a ſnare: and that their enemies were contriving to drop in their walks counterfeited letters, in order to have freſh articles of accuſation againſt them. This calumny defeated, a report was ſpread that the prieſts of Laval had ſet fire to the town; the banditti were immediately ready with their hatchets

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to aſſaſſinate the prieſts of Chateau-Gonthier, when a courier arrived from Laval, and contradicted the report.

The venerable curate of Athée, in the diſtrict of Anjou, M. Volgerard, had been about the ſame time confined for ſix weeks in the dungeon of Craon: and it was owing entirely to his infirmities, and the inſtances of his phyſician, that the irons were at laſt ſtruck off his hands and feet. His piety and reſignation had made him to be reſpected even by his guards. The only crime laid to his charge was that he had prevented ſchiſm and impiety from penetrating into his pariſh. His faith and reſolution confounded his judges: he had received his pardon, and was ſet at liberty, when the very ſame day, by an order of the diſtrict, he was ſent back to priſon, with thirteen of his brethren, accuſed of having favored the eſcape of the king, becauſe they refuſed to take the oath of the intruders.

Theſe priſoners with thoſe of Breſt were only releaſed, when the aſſembly, after having obliged the king to receive the new code, publiſhed a general pardon for all crimes againſt the revolution. The legiſlators ſeemed unwilling to finiſh their ſeſſions, before they had committed a crime, which was not likely to furniſh them with new titles to the amneſty of nations. Notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn renunciation of all foreign conqueſts, all poſſible means had been deviſed to wreſt from the Pope Avignon and the Comtat. This ſeizure was originally moved by Bouche, and had been a long time debated. Supported by the ſuperior arguments of M. de Clermont de Tonnerre, and by the energetic eloquence of M. l'Abbé Maury, juſtice and national decorum were for a while triumphant. On the 14th of May, 1791, the aſſembly decreed, that Avignon and the Comtat were not integrant parts of the French empire. Nevertheleſs Bouche and the jacobins could not prevail upon themſelves

ſelves to abandon this prey. That the ſovereign pontiff of the catholic religion ſhould be in poſſeſſion of ſtates lying within France, was an idea inſupportable to a ſet of men, who were meditating ſtill ſeverer ſtrokes againſt that religion. It was ſaid that the ſabres and canons of the banditti would force the aſſembly to annul that decree. The ſavage cruelties committed by the ruffians ſent into the Comtat were extremely oppreſſive: and petitions, which were falſely ſaid to expreſs the general wiſh of the people, were at laſt ſent up to the aſſembly, praying for an union of that country to France. It was then declared in open defiance of the moſt ſolemn oaths, contracts, and the juſt titles of ages, that, if ever a province once refuſed to acknowledge its lawful ſovereign, this was a ſufficient reaſon for another power to take poſſeſſion of it. On the 14th of September this policy of Bouche, Pethion, Camus, and Rabaud de St. Etienne dictated a new decree, and the aſſembly decreed *Avignon and the Comtat to be united to France.*

Never was a conqueſt made with more infamy, and never was uſurpation ſupported by more atrocities. For a long time alſo Avignon was leſs in the power of France than in that of the army which the jacobins had employed againſt it. The ferocity of that army is not to be paralleled in hiſtory. Never before had there been an inſtance of legions being formed of men, the leaſt wicked of whom had been guilty of crimes that ought to have been puniſhed by the hangman, men, who even ſtyled themſelves by the name of banditti, and who bore that name in their colours and hats, leſt they ſhould be confounded with the honeſt members of ſociety. Their chief was one Jourdan. That name is expreſſive of a tiger, who kills to quench his thirſt in blood, and continues to kill when that thirſt is quenched, becauſe killing is his greateſt pleaſure, and the ſpilling of blood the moſt congenial

congenial to his ferocious inſtinct. The firſt eſſay of his revolutionary fury, on the 6th of October, had acquired him the name of cut-throat. In conjunction with him the tyrants of Avignon were Tournal and Lécuyer. Under that formidable triumvirate the churches were all pillaged, the ſacred veſſels ſtolen, the ſanctuaries broken down, and the priſons crowded with devoted victims. Lécuyer was killed in one of thoſe churches, whoſe altar he had deſtroyed, and at the very moment of time in which his banditti were employed in the plunder of a pious eſtabliſhment, where the diſconſolate widow and orphan had depoſited their laſt pledge. The fury of Jourdan had marked for deſtruction thoſe citizens, who previouſly ſhut up in cloſe priſons, could the leaſt have contributed to the death of the wretch he pretended to revenge. A deep pit was opened to receive the dead bodies, and cart-loads of ſand were brought to cover them: the hour was appointed for the maſſacre, and ſix hundred priſoners confined in the caſtle were to be ſacrificed.

A virtuous prieſt, one of thoſe men whom the empire of ſanctity holds up to veneration on earth as bleſſed in heaven, M. Nolhac, formerly rector of the noviciate of the jeſuits at Toulouſe, then in the eightieth year of his age, and for thirty years paſt curate of St. Symphorien, of that pariſh, which he had preferred to all others, becauſe it was a pariſh of poor people, M. Nolhac, who for thirty years paſt had been in that town the father and refuge of all the indigent, the comforter of the afflicted, the counſel and friend of all honeſt citizens, though repeatedly urged by his friends, refuſed to quit them after the arrival of the jacobin banditti, and Jourdan. He never could make up his mind to abandon his pariſhioners, and eſpecially thoſe whoſe confidence he enjoyed: he would not ſuffer them to be deprived of their paſtor in the firſt confuſion of the ſchiſm, and much leſs ſo, when, under the tyranny of the jacobins they were bereft of every

every comfort of religious duties. Martyrdom, the glory of ſpilling his blood for Jeſus Chriſt, for his church, and for the faithful, was the final accompliſhment of the moſt ardent wiſhes he had ever formed in life, ſentiments, with which he had inſpired all thoſe, whom he had directed in the paths of perfection. His whole life had been one continued martyrdom, concealed under a ſerenity of countenance, peace of conſcience, and angelic comforts. Naturally of a ſtrong conſtitution, he had been able to ſupport all the fatigue, watching, and activity of a paſtor, together with the penitential life of an anchoret, daily employed before the riſing ſun in the meditation of divine truths, daily viſiting the ſick and poor, and never quitting them without adding to ſpiritual comforts ſome temporal aſſiſtance, which the confidence of the faithful multiplied in his hands, always poor in his own regard and rich with regard to others, it was time for him to conſummate the ſacrifice of a life, which had been totally devoted to charity and his duty to God. His laſt moments were ſanctified and comforted by one of thoſe prodigies, with which providence has ſometimes favored choſen ſouls.

M. Nolhac, whoſe ſanctity till then had been reſpected even by the banditti, was confined in the caſtle the eve of the day on which the ſix hundred victims were to be ſacrificed. His appearance was for all thoſe perſecuted perſons, who were perfectly acquainted with him, and who had all the greateſt reſpect for him, that of a conſoling angel. His firſt words were thoſe of an apoſtle of ſouls, ſent to prepare them to appear before the ſovereign judge of the living and the dead. "I am come to die with you, my children; we ſhall all ſoon appear together in the preſence of God. Thanks to his providence for having ſent me to prepare your ſouls to appear before his tribunal. Every moment is precious. To-morrow, perhaps to-day, we ſhall be no longer in this world: let us therefore diſpoſe ourſelves by a ſincere re-

pentance to be happy in the next. Add to the hope I have of being received myſelf into the boſom of God, the happineſs of rendering you all worthy of his divine mercy." At theſe words they all proſtrate themſelves at his feet, and embrace him as their father. Worthily diſpoſed by a ſincere repentance, they all receive the ſacrament of penance by his adminiſtration, with that tenderneſs and compaſſion, which he always had for ſinners. That undeſcribable pleaſure, that peace which God alone can give, when he has ratified in heaven the abſolution given by his prieſt on earth, baniſhed all marks of fear and ſhone bright on every countenance, when the banditti called out the firſt victims of their fury. On the right and left of the priſon gate ſtood two executioners, who with bars of maſſive iron, knocked down the priſoners as they were ordered to advance forward. Their bodies were then delivered over to other ruffians, who tore and disfigured them with their ſabres, that they might not afterwards be known by their friends or children; and finally, were all promiſcuouſly hurled into a pit called the ice-houſe. In the interior priſon M. Nolhac exhorted, embraced, and encouraged all as they were called out, and had the happineſs to be preſented before God the laſt of thoſe ſix hundred ſouls, which had all preceded him in heaven, the joyful harbingers of his heroic zeal, and unalterable conſtancy.

Afterwards, when the banditti were diſperſed, and the people were able to ſearch the pit for the bodies, all were anxious to diſcover that of their common father. It had been pierced with fifty wounds, and was eaſily diſcovered by his clerical dreſs and a crucifix on his breaſt. All contended to be poſſeſſed of ſome part of his garments, and it was neceſſary during eight days to expoſe his remains to the concourſe and veneration of the public. The perjurer, rebel and apoſtate, Mulot, ſent by the aſſembly to take poſſeſſion of Avignon, was unavoidably a ſpectator of thoſe homages paid to a prieſt, whoſe life

and

and death were a diſtinguiſhed condemnation of perjury rebellion and apoſtacy.

The news of the maſſacre at Avignon filled all Paris with horror; and eſpecially the aſſaſſination of the venerable paſtor of St. Symphorien, raiſed a general indignation. It was then the eighteenth of October, and tho' the new legiſlators had already taken their ſeats, I have aſcribed this event to the reign of the conſtituent aſſembly. For its hiſtory is indebted entirely to them. They made all the previous diſpoſitions, and prepared the means. It was their atchievement. Be theirs all the remorſe and infamy that will ever attend it. The reign of their ſucceſſors will furniſh many more atrocities for the indignation of mankind.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CLERGY

DURING THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

PART II.

Perſecutions of the Clergy and of the Church, under the ſecond Aſſembly called National, to the 10th of Auguſt, 1792.

THE members of the conſtitutional religion might now conſider it as legally eſtabliſhed in France: its novelty alone marked it with the ſtigma of reprobation. Inſtead of deriving its origin from Jeſus Chriſt, it was the work of the legiſlators of the day. Camus was the firſt doctor, Taillerand the firſt conſecrator, D'Expilly the firſt biſhop of this religion. Its tenets concerning the ſacerdotal miſſion, the ſpiritual power, the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, the chief biſhop and all biſhops, the evangelical virtues, were proſcribed by the Pope and biſhops, who are the legitimate judges in what regards faith. Confined within its own pale, not joined in communion with the Pope and other catholic ſees throughout the world, ſhe ſtood alone. Eſtabliſhed on the ruins of a catholic, apoſtolic and Roman church, ſhe could not lawfully apply to herſelf any of theſe titles; becauſe truth cannot be eſtabliſhed on the deſtruction of truth. In a word, her appearance was as novel and extraordinary, as the revolution to which ſhe owed her birth.

Novelty and other marks of the conſtitutional religion.

A new

Conſtitutional writings in favor of their religion.

A new religion, ſupported alone by human authority, is ſo evidently a falſe religion, that the conſtitutional clergy left no ſtone unturned, to ſcreen themſelves from this reproach. In the different works publiſhed in their defence, they endeavoured to perſuade the people, that the eſſence of religion remained unchanged; that their interior diſcipline continued the ſame; that the exterior diſcipline alone had undergone ſome alteration.

To this the catholics anſwered, as they had always done on ſimilar occaſions, that they were not acquainted with any dogmas concerning the deciſions of the church, ſome of which were more, others leſs neceſſary to be believed; that although the diſtinct knowledge of ſome may be leſs neceſſary to ſalvation, there is not one, to which, when known, we are at liberty to refuſe our aſſent, when the church has ſpoken; becauſe the principle on which any one is grounded, viz. that the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt the church, holds equally for all its deciſions: it being evident that we could no longer depend on the infallibility of the church, if hell had prevailed againſt it once. In a word, the doctrines of the conſtitutionaliſts on this ſubject deſtroys the rule of faith.

As to the diſtinction of an interior and exterior diſcipline, the catholics obſerved that it was abſurd, diſcipline being neither more nor leſs, than the laws of the church for its government; the acts of which are not leſs exterior, than thoſe of civil government. The catholics added, that the church being eſtabliſhed by Chriſt as a real ſociety, whoſe object is ſalvation, ſhe muſt neceſſarily be inveſted with that power which the goſpel gives to her paſtors, of governing the faithful, and enacting laws for them, and directing them in thoſe exterior acts which regard ſalvation; that moreover, nothing is more

properly

properly interior, than the power which the aſſembly arrogates to itſelf, when it gives to ſome, and takes from others, the ſpiritual juriſdiction in the dioceſes and pariſhes, which includes the authority neceſſary to direct the conſciences of the faithful, to abſolve ſinners, and to adminiſter the ſacraments.

The conſtitutionaliſts cited hiſtorical facts, which ſeemed to prove, that metropolitans and biſhoprics had been created by ſecular princes; the catholics ſhewed, that when princes interfered, it was only in what concerned their revenues and temporal rights: the reſt being regulated by the Pope or by councils.

The conſtitutionaliſts objected, that the laws were to be obeyed by all, who did not chuſe to paſs for rebels; the catholics replied, that they ſubmitted to the laws, when they were confined to their proper object, civil concerns. That it did not belong to the ſecular power to meddle in ſpirituals. The apoſtles neither obeyed the ſynagogues, nor the emperors, where religion was concerned; and yet the apoſtles were not rebels.

The conſtitutionaliſts farther obſerved, that they were in the church, and did not deſire to leave it; that the Pope could not force them out of it; that he had not then ventured to excommunicate them. It was anſwered, that whoever conſpires againſt his country, and joins her enemies to overturn the laws, will no longer be acknowledged by his country as a citizen; he will only be viewed in the light of an alien, an enemy. The ſame holds good with regard to the church. It is true that Pius VI. ever guided by wiſdom and paternal goodneſs, has not as yet pronounced the final ſentence; but you ſhould reflect, that the ſentence does not conſtitute the crime. The deſerter has ceaſed to be a citizen, before the ſentence of condemnation is pronounced. You

have

have deſerted; you have quitted the church, by abandoning her paſtors and doctrines. The Pope and our biſhops have declared this ſufficiently. They have puniſhed you by a firſt ſentence, and if they have ſuſpended the laſt, they have not by that declared you innocent: they only wait to ſee whether you will force them to puniſh obſtinacy in guilt: conſequently their conduct ſuppoſes your crime and deſertion.

The conſtitutionaliſts, unable to anſwer ſuch ſimple and clear reaſoning, had recourſe to the chapter of hard words. In particular they charged the catholic clergy with oppoſing the conſtitution, becauſe it had deprived them of their revenues and privileges. The catholics anſwered, that when they oppoſed the new laws, when they meddled with ſpirituals, they did not reject the new French conſtitution, or the laws concerning temporals. That by giving up their penſions, for the ſake of religion, they proved to the world, that religion was dearer to them than their tithes or their revenues. That they had only done their duty when they defended their poſſeſſions, for which they were but truſtees, and conſequently obliged to tranſmit them to their ſucceſſors. That it might even be ſaid, they had not done all they ought to have done; for that after all, their revenues belonged likewiſe to the poor; their immunities were the privileges of the poor; having been given on condition of the clergy's ſharing with the poor, a great part of their revenues. They might therefore have entered a ſolemn proteſt, at leaſt in favour of the poor. That this was not done, for fear of irritating men who would have pretended they did not underſtand it, at the ſame time they were inſpiring the lower ranks with a deteſtation of the clergy, who endeavoured to promote the deareſt intereſts of the poor.

The

The public has been told, that the eccleſiaſtical revenues are at the diſpoſal of the nation: how comes it then that the title deeds are ſilent on this ſubject, and that they only ſpeak of gifts to the church? Notwithſtanding the ſtrange deciſions, which have adjudged the patrimony of the church to the nation, the nation has not gained by ſuch decrees. Were eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions public property, the nation would be obliged, in ſtrict juſtice, to comply with the intentions of the founders, by ſupporting the public worſhip of the miniſters of the altar in a decent manner, and giving the ſuperfluities to the poor. A very different uſe has been made of them; what was foretold at the time, has come to paſs. When the ſacred veſſels were ſeized, your gold diſappeared, when you ſold our poſſeſſions, your crowns vaniſhed.

Now the churches are expoſed to ſale, the bells melted down, not even the widow's mite remains. A more bareſaced robbery has been committed, than the hiſtory of mankind has recorded hitherto; and by a juſt judgment of heaven, France is become the pooreſt of nations. The French clergy ſigh over the misfortunes of their country, which might have been prevented, by accepting the voluntary ſacrifices which they offered; thoſe who were in power graſped at every thing, and ſeized at whatever they could lay hold of. The conſequence has been, that all is ſquandered away, and that their debts and miſeries go on increaſing. Not content with ſtripping the clergy of their temporal goods, theſe men inſiſt on a farther ſacrifice, that of their faith. The clergy can only repeat, what they have ſaid already, compliance is impoſſible.

Theſe anſwers of the clergy carried conviction with them; they might conſequently have made ſome impreſſion on the people: to prevent this, the conſtitutionaliſts did what they could to hinder their ſpreading. Not daring

daring to make a direct attack on the liberty of the preſs, catholic bookſellers were moleſted, their ſhops pillaged; parcels containing books and journals, which might ſerve to open the people's eyes, were ſeized: thoſe who had the Pope's briefs, the biſhop's letters, or other works of that kind were perſecuted. On the other ſide the municipalities and diſtricts, printed at their own expenſe, the writings of the conſtitutional clergy, and diſtributed them gratis to the people, who frequently refuſed to read what came from the other ſide, under the pretext that they were ariſtocratical productions. In ſpite of the artifices of of the conſtitutionaliſts, all thoſe who were moderately well informed, were convinced that the decrees of the firſt aſſembly, on the conſtitution of the clergy, were abſolutely contrary to the ancient religion. The proofs of this were ſo evident, that they made ſome impreſſion even on prieſts, whoſe behaviour was the moſt irregular, when they had not ſhaken off their belief. A ſtriking inſtance of this occurred in the dioceſe of Rennes. The municipal officers ſeeing that ſo many prieſts refuſed to take the civic oath, and the livings which were offered them, ſent for an eccleſiaſtic of a blaſted character, who had been often puniſhed by his biſhop, and at length ſuſpended from all his functions. At leaſt, ſaid they, this man will ſwear, and we may give him the cure of one of our pariſhes. As ſoon as the eccleſiaſtic makes his appearance, the oath is tendered to him, he refuſes to take it; whereupon they exclaim with aſtoniſhment; what, Sir, do you refuſe? Yes, gentlemen, I know what you mean; you have reaſon to be ſurpriſed. I am a wicked prieſt, and have given much ſcandal; however my faith ſtill remains. This is the only avenue to ſalvation, which is not ſhut. I will take care it ſhall continue open.

In ſhort, Camus certainly knew his own work when he ſaid, *I admire theſe good folks, who have allowed us to change their religion, without perceiving what we were about.*

It

It might however be ſaid, that thoſe of the lower ranks in France who had changed their religion, were either the moſt deeply ſunk in ignorance, or of the moſt vicious morals. Among the citizens, who being in more eaſy circumſtances, might have been ſuppoſed to be better inſtructed, there were ſeveral, who ſeemed to follow the new religion: but theſe were men, whom a jealouſy of the nobles, and falſe ideas of liberty, had thrown into the revolution party. The changes made in religion, were leſs an object of conviction to ſuch men, than a party affair. They had put on the uniform of the national guards, and either from blindneſs, or fear of paſſing for ariſtocrates, adhered to the ſyſtem of the day. Had they been left to their own choice, they would have confined the revolution to civil objects; neither did they ſee very clearly, that the new order of things did promiſe better times.

The French nobility made haſte to reach Coblentz there to rally under the banner of the king's brother, and revenge the loſs of their titles and eſtates. They were all of too elevated ſentiments to favour cowardly apoſtates. Some of them ſaw in the riſing of the people againſt them, the anger of an avenging God, who made them the inſtruments of their puniſhment, whom they had eſtranged from the practice of their religious duties by bad example. If but too few thought of reforming their opinions or their morals, according to the ſtandard of the old religion, they all united in deteſting the new fangled notions.

When the arm of the Almighty was ſtretched out over the clergy, it had great irregulaties to puniſh; however even thoſe whoſe lives were by no means a credit to religion, ſtill retained the belief of the goſpel. All the impious prieſts, the hardened with Torné, the cowardly with Gobel, the hypocrites with Lamouret; all that were capable

pable of becoming apoſtates with Brienne, joined the church of reprobation. The progreſs of error plunged them deep in the abyſs of depravation; and hardened them. The perſecution had the moſt happy effects on the ſound part of the clergy. It added to the zeal of the fervent; it called to repentance thoſe whoſe morals were not as pure as their faith, and grace ſometimes operated wonderful changes. Prelates who before diſplayed all the luxury of rich temporal lords, humbled themſelves under the yoke of evangelical ſimplicity; men who had endeavoured to become rich in the church, thought it an honour to become poor for the cauſe of God; prieſts who had ſought the enjoyments of the world, embraced a penitential life; the croſs of Chriſt, without any mixture of worldly worſhip with that of faith, appeared to them more glorious; their ſouls purified by the tears of repentance, became ſtrengthened. Faith had acted with the form of perſecution. "I ſee," ſaid one of theſe men, who before rather appeared a rich worldling, than a miniſter of the altar, "I ſee that almighty God calls us "from the pride of grandeur and riches, to the exerciſe "of virtue, to a ſpiritual warfare, and that diſengage-"ment from the good things of this world, which diſ-"tinguiſhed the primitive chriſtians; we muſt prepare "our ſouls by the ſacrament of penance, by retirement, "and meditation on the holy truths of the goſpel."

Theſe diſpoſitions, which were become nearly general among the prieſts who had refuſed the oath, had transformed them into new men. Their behaviour was far more regular and edifying. They reſorted along with the biſhops, to thoſe houſes in Paris where ſpiritual retreats were given, that they might become ſtill more penetrated with religious truths, and obtain from heaven, by prayer, faſting, and penance, that ſtrength which alone could ſupport them, and give them that new life, to which they were

were called In the ſcourges of their unhappy country they ſaw either the hand of their heavenly Father, chaſtiſing children he ſtill loved and endeavoured to reclaim, or thoſe terrible judgments which deprive nations of the faith which they abuſe. They beheld France either converted or in a ſtate of reprobation. They beſeeched heaven not to remove its bleſſings for ever; and their regular conduct, their conſtancy in the religion of their forefathers, ſeemed to afford grounds to hope, that providence which puniſhed France, did not abſolutely reject that unfortunate country; that the Father of mercies, would cleanſe the people from their iniquities, enliven their faith, and not abandon them for ever to hereſy, ſchiſm, and impiety.

In proportion to the fervour with which the prieſts who were faithful to their God, ſolicited this return of faith and morality to their unhappy country, the impious contrivers of the miſchief, were anxiouſly fearful that the apoſtacy of France would not be conſummated. When they obſerved the number of the faithful, who adhered to the true paſtors, they feared that catholicity might riſe from its ruins, and that edification and perſuaſion might in time deſtroy the work of violence, falſehood and terror. The jacobins and the intruded clergy determined to carry the perſecution to the utmoſt exceſs, when the meeting of the ſecond aſſembly, called national, afforded them the means.

Compoſition and plan of the ſecond aſſembly.

The new legiſlators began their ſeſſions in October, 1791: it ſoon appeared that they would compleat the work begun by their predeceſſors; in other words, that they would overturn both altar and throne. The late aſſembly had met with ſome oppoſition from a minority of above two hundred and fifty of the clergy, a large proportion of the nobility, and ſome members of the third order. They had to contend with

with zeal, talents, and unſhaken reſolution. In the ſecond aſſembly there was ſcarcely a man diſtinguiſhed by any regard for religion, or real talents: to ſupply the want of ſuch, there was Iſnard and Lacroix, enraged jacobins; Briſſot, whoſe exploits in the pillaging way have given riſe to a new appellation for pickpockets; Francois de Chateauneuf, noted for his impiety; Condorcet, an atheiſt; Lecoz, an intruder, Fauchet, a lunatic, Tornê, an apoſtate; Chabot, a runaway friar. If France had not been deſtined to have a convention, it might have been ſaid, that the ſecond aſſembly was compoſed of the ſweepings of the ſections and clubs. There were however ſome members, who had looked upon themſelves as honeſt men, becauſe they were only conſtitutionaliſts, and endeavoured to preſerve that *French Conſtitution*, which the clubs were reſolved to deſtroy. There were two objects in the new laws, which the jacobins viewed with particular diſpleaſure: in the firſt place they preſerved a ſhadow of royalty in France; again by ſecuring to every one the free exerciſe of religious worſhip, they ſeemed to ſecure to the paſtors the liberty of the catholic religion. Perhaps it might be ſaid more properly, that theſe jacobin ſophiſts deſired this uncircumſcribed liberty of conſcience, becauſe they did not dare to contradict the principle of it; but they only approved of it, as the devil does, who has for a long time employed his agents in preaching it up; that by this means every opinion that is falſe, impious, immoral or abſurd may be ſpread abroad, and the publication of religious truths alone be reckoned criminal; becauſe it is but of little importance to him which ſyſtem of error conducts men to perdition, provided he can hide from them the truth, by which alone they can be ſaved.

The murmurs occaſioned in Paris by the decrees of the new legiſlators, intended to degrade royalty in the perſon of Lewis XVI., gave them to underſtand that the French were not prepared to look upon their king as the equal of Chabot or of one of the Sans Culotte deputies. The Pariſians

Pariſians ſaw with indignation theſe obſcure beings, hitherto unknown in the world, diſpute the king's right to the title of majeſty and ſire, and to the diſtinction of a throne or an armed chair when ſeated among them. The ſquabble about the folding-doors, which they inſiſted ought to be opened to them, when they appeared at the Thuilleries, as they were to the princes and to the ancient peers of the kingdom, threw an additional ridicule on the aſſembly. The jacobins were ſenſible they muſt deviſe other means of compaſſing what they aimed at, the deſtruction of monarchy and religion. As they could not procure the eſteem and reſpect of the public for their aſſembly, their attention was bent on rendering the king and the clergy odious. They endeavoured to excite internal troubles, the odium of which was thrown on the clergy who had refuſed the oath; to keep up the alarm of a ſcarcity, to invent ſtories of new conſpiracies; they contrived the public mind ſhould be in a conſtant ſtate of agitation, which might indiſpoſe the generality againſt thoſe who were pointed out as the cauſe of it.

The jacobins ſtrove to create pretexts for adopting ſome violent meaſure againſt the clergy, and to bring the French to ſuch a diſpoſition that they might look on with indifference, while the moſt violent meaſures were adopted againſt the old clergy. At the ſame time they inſpired the public with a hatred of the royal *veto*, in which they diſcovered a phantom, the mention of which frightened the populace. They knew the king was determined not to ſanction any laws againſt the liberty of the catholic worſhip. When they forced him to exerciſe his *veto*, by the atrocity of their decrecs, they inflamed the fury of the ruffians. They perſuaded the mob, that all their endeavours to eſtabliſh public tranquility were rendered ineffectual by the king, who was a friend to the non-juring clergy. Their calumnies rebounded from the altar to the throne, and by the ſame contrivance they overturned both.

The

IX. Degree of perſecution. The prieſts ſuffer on account of the public trouble.

The aſſembly, by purſuing this project ſeemed for ſome time to have loſt ſight of the monarch, and to confine its attention to the clergy. It might have been ſaid that the legiſlators had then no other buſineſs but to moleſt theſe prieſts. During three whole months, particularly in November, the aſſembly received and encouraged all the complaints and denounciations which, by the contrivances of the jacobins, were ſent up from every part of the kingdom. The provincial clubs at the ſame time redoubled the perſecution againſt the catholics eſpecially in the pariſhes which were moſt attached to the ancient religion. Informed by the intruded clergy who they were that refuſed to communicate with them, they broke into the houſes of the recuſants, and with inſults and threats dragged them to the conſtitutional church. On holy days, when the citizens could not prevail on themſelves to follow the intruder, and croſſed the country in great numbers to hear the maſs of a catholic prieſt, they were ſometimes attacked by bands of ruffians, and even by national guards, on the road, or in their oratories. The country towns and villages naturally endeavoured to put a ſtop to ſuch violences, the quarrels which enſued between them and the emiſſaries of the clubs, were repreſented to the aſſembly as ſo many acts of rebellion againſt the law; it was ſaid likewiſe that they were excited by the nonjuring prieſts, whom they termed *refractory*. As the word ariſtocrate was uſed to rouze the fury of the populace againſt the nobles, *refractaire* anſwered the ſame purpoſe for the prieſts. Frequently while the catholic clergy were performing the church ſervice peaceably, a band of armed ruffians would break in, and deal about blows and wounds, ſometimes even proceed to aſſaſſination, and all this againſt an unarmed meeting. However, ſuch events were repreſented to the aſſembly as battles and religious troubles, for which the refractory prieſts alone were anſwerable. If in any part of the country the people refuſed to pay taxes, it was ſaid that theſe ſame prieſts occaſioned

occaſioned the loſs to the treaſury. If in any part of the kingdom the real or pretended monopolies occaſioned dangerous riots, the prieſts had their ſhare in the accuſation brought againſt the ariſtocrates. Theſe charges, which followed one another in a rapid ſucceſſion, were received with tranſport by the aſſembly, and the morning and evening journals, which were dictated by cruelty and impiety, being diſtributed to that part of the populace, which unfortunately knows how to read, without knowing how to doubt of the truth of what it reads, never failed to ſpread every where the accuſations brought againſt the prieſts, as the moſt important object of each ſeſſion.

It would ſeem that it was more than proper to ſift theſe charges, and to diſcover the real authors of them. Commiſſaries were ſent into the department of Vendée, where the eſtabliſhment of the new church occaſioned great diſorders. The commiſſaries, who were prejudiced by the violent denunciation which had been given in, expected to find the peaſants all armed, and employed in plundering the eſtates of the conſtitutionaliſts, and the non-juring prieſts even at the head of reſpective pariſhes, blowing the coals of fanaticiſm and diſcord. We ſaw one of theſe commiſſaries at his return from La Vendée. He could not be ſuſpected of partiality to catholic prieſts; for he was one of thoſe philoſophers of the preſent age, who are too little acquainted with the proofs of chriſtianity to believe its tenets. However in this man incredulity did not proceed from hatred of the truth; he had that kind of virtue which makes men enemies to oppreſſion and perſecution. He expreſſed himſelf in this manner. "I "have ſeen theſe good people: nothing can be more falſe "than the reports which have been ſpread to their preju- "dice they advanced towards us, and with tears in their eyes "only aſked the liberty of practiſing the religion they had "been taught, and of going to church to hear the maſs "of their old paſtors. Their prieſts only deſire peace "and the free exerciſe of their religious worſhip, which "the decrees promiſe to ſecure to every one. We did

" not find that any one of them had preached reprehen-
" ſible doctrine, unleſs inculcating peace deſerves that
" appellation. They are truly reſpectable men; their
" ſituation and their petitions affected me. If the prieſts
" who take the oath were animated by the ſame ſpirit,
" we ſhould not hear of theſe perſecutions, and of in-
" tolerance." The account given in by the commiſſa-ries, did not contain any farther charge againſt the catho-lics. It is true, that humouring the philoſophy of the day, it treated theſe good people and their prieſts as ſuper-ſtitious fanatics, wedded to their religious notions; how-ever it expreſſly ſays, that no guilty perſons were found among them. The tribunals had not made any diſcove-ries that affected theſe men. The informers, the munici-palities governed by the clubs, had thrown a great number of nonjuring prieſts into priſon; not one of thoſe who had been brought to a trial had been condemned as guilty of the crimes imputed to them. The reſt were left to rot in priſon, becauſe it was well known that their accuſers could not prove any thing againſt them.

This was the objection invariably made to the accuſations brought againſt the nonjuring prieſts; of plots, rebellion, &c.; for how could any one give credit to ſuch general charges, in which, if one out of fifty thouſand was named, the tribunals were forced to declare him innocent, or to detain him in priſon, if they did not bring him to a trial? The aſſembly would have found the accuſations better grounded, if it had confined itſelf to the motion of one of the members, who, on the 4th of October, ſpoke as follows: *Nothing is of more urgent neceſſity, than to adopt vigorous meaſures againſt the refractory prieſts. They continue in their pariſhes as long as they can; ſay maſs and make holy water in their houſes. It is owing to them that the conſtitutional churches are abandoned.* Such in fact was the conduct of theſe prieſts; they did not deny it; but would any one, who did not avow the moſt barbarous intolerance, think

of

of punishing them for exercising their functions in their own houses, when bayonets, pikes and sabres prevented their doing it elsewhere? and why impute to them, as a crime, the desertion of the constitutional churches, when it only proved the aversion of the people to the new religion and its pastors?

At the time these accusations resounded in the assembly, whole parishes and districts, for instance, that of Roche-Bernard in Britany, convened for the election of new parish priests, declared that "the scarcity of priests who "had not taken the oath not leaving any choice, they "knew not whom they could vote for with a safe con-"science; while they saw in the actual incumbents "ministers according to the hearts of the parishioners, "enjoying their confidence, and living peaceably among "them.

The aversion to the false pastors and swearers manifested itself more openly at Champorou, in the diocese of Séez, as appears from what follows: "We, the mayor, mu-"nicipal officers, and parishioners of Champorou, de-"clare, that being determined to live and die in the "catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, such as it has "been transmitted to us by our forefathers, we will never "follow any other pastor but him whom the church has "given us; and should he have the weakness to sully "himself, by taking a schismatical oath, we will drive "him out of the parish."

These declarations, and others of the same kind, were not relished by the jacobins. Francois de Neufchateau delivered a discourse which was better calculated to please the assembly. Going beyond all the informers, yet without being able to name any individual, he represented the nonjuring priests, as *seditious and rebels*, as *the greatest enemies of their country*. His philosophy did not seek for

proofs in fact; his impiety ſuggeſted to him a direct attack on the tenets of religion, and on the ſacraments. According to him, prieſts were eſſentially enemies of their country, becauſe they held the doctrines of confeſſion, of celibacy, of the ſpiritual authority of the holy ſee, and of the church. This was neither more or leſs than a complete juſtification of the clergy. It was ſaying in very plain language, that the prieſts were perſecuted on account of their religion. The declamations of the orator were not leſs applauded; they were printed by order of the aſſembly and ſent to the departments.

Second oath preſcribed to the eccleſiaſtics.

The project of a decree, preſented by Chateauneuf, was not deſigned to enforce the obligation of taking the oath, hitherto exacted from the clergy: the orator had deeper views: he pretended a regard for the religious ſcruples of the prieſts; and in conſequence only preſcribed the civic oath by which they promiſed *to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain the French conſtitution decreed by the firſt aſſembly.*

All the eccleſiaſtics without any exception, were to take this oath, under pain of being declared, 1. Incapable of every eccleſiaſtical function and civil employ; 2. deprived of the penſion which had been aſſigned them when they were deprived of their benefices, and driven from their churches; 3. Suſpected of revolt againſt the law, and evil intentions towards their country; laſtly, They were to be confined in the town the department ſhould appoint for their exile or priſon.

Department of Paris againſt the ſecond oath.

This decree was iſſued the 29th of November, 1791. It ſeemed rather milder than the project of thoſe, who for a month had been preſſing the aſſembly to tranſport above fifty thouſand prieſts

prieſts to the uncultivated foreſts of Guyana. If it was leſs ferocious, it was not leſs inſidious. It might have deceived the populace; it did not impoſe on the citizens of Paris. The members of that department, who were zealous for the conſtitution, obſerved directly that the decree was contrary to the oath of maintaining the conſtitution, which ſecuring to all citizens the ſame rights, left each individual at liberty to take, or to decline taking the civic oath, without depriving of his goods, or of the quality of citizen, or of liberty, any one who ſhould refuſe it.

Another ſtriking injuſtice indiſpoſed them towards this decree. Thus they addreſſed the aſſembly: "You have "deprived the clergy of their poſſeſſions. After diſ- "cuſſing the queſtion of the property of theſe goods, "whether national or eccleſiaſtic, the law has decided the "queſtion, by adjudging them to the nation, and pro- "miſing a penſion to the eccleſiaſtics, without annexing "any condition to the promiſe. Now, is it fair after "contracting a legal debt, to impoſe conditions on him "who demands the payment of what was promiſed un- "conditionally."

The department felt an uncommon degree of indignation at being forced to play the tyrants, by impriſoning the prieſts who ſhould refuſe to take the oath. They petitioned the king not to ſanction the decree.

Conduct and reaſons of the clergy with regard to the ſecond oath.

Reaſons of a different nature rendered the clergy averſe to the decree. A great number of them had taken the civic oath, the fourth of February in the foregoing year, when the conſtitution was ſcarce begun. This was a condeſcenſion they had made through exceſs of zeal for peace and the public tranquillity, and for fear of being looked upon

upon as enemies to the people. Without examining other reaſons, which even then, might have inclined them to reject the oath, they had every reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſooner or later, the jacobins would contrive to thruſt into the conſtitution, ſeveral articles which had no reference to civil objects; after what had happened, they ought to have anſwered in a body, "Shew us this conſtitution completely finiſhed, and then we ſhall be able to ſay, whether we can ſwear to maintain it." No doubt it was their duty at all times to be faithful to their country, to the law, and to the king; however it is better to expoſe one's ſelf to ſhafts of calumny, and even to death, than to ſwear to ſupport we know not what; particularly where we have grounds to ſuſpect thoſe, who propoſe the oath, of evil intentions.

This proceeding, of a very great number of eccleſiaſtics, might at leaſt ſerve to convince the nation of their ſubmiſſion in all that regarded civil objects. They were ſoon aware, that a bad uſe had been made of their unſuſpecting confidence. On the ninth of July, 1790, the biſhop of Clermont who had diſcovered, that the articles concerning religion, would not admit of an oath without reſtriction; ſpoke aloud from the tribune what follows:—
"Gentlemen, there are certain objects, in ſpeaking of
"which, neither honour nor conſcience allow of the
"ſhadow of equivocation. Urged by the impe-
"rious law theſe impoſe on me, may I be allowed to
"utter my ſentiments before you, with that confidence,
"which the pureſt motives and a conviction of my
"proceeding on the ſureſt principles can inſpire. I ſhall
"do it with all the frankneſs which is due to the reſpecta-
"ble aſſembly repreſenting the whole body of a loyal
"people, and which becomes my profeſſion.

"We

" We are going to renew, in concert with all the in-
" dividua's of the French nation, the oath of being
" faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. Where
" is the Frenchman! but what do I ſay! where is the
" chriſtian who can heſitate with regard to ſuch an en-
" gagement, which is ſo conſonant to the principles of
" religion and ſound policy, and ought to be cheriſhed
" by every friend of order! Allow me to declare, from
" a patriotic impulſe, as lively as it is ſincere, that,
" were it neceſſary, I am ready to ſign it with my
" blood.

" We are going to promiſe, but in very different circum-
" ſtances from thoſe in which we were placed on the fourth
" of laſt February, and to promiſe under the tremendous
" ſanction of religion, to maintain to the utmoſt of our
" power the conſtitution decreed by the aſſembly, and
" ſanctioned by the king.—Here, Gentlemen, calling to
" mind, what I owe to Cæſar, I cannot diſſemble what
" I ought to render to God.—A law, ſuperior to all
" human laws, orders me to declare aloud, that I cannot
" include in my civic oath, objects which depend eſſen-
" tially on the eccleſiaſtical power," for a ſtill ſtronger rea-
ſon, objects of faith, divine laws, which even the eccleſiaſti-
cal power cannot alter, " that any thing like diſſimulation
" in ſuch a caſe would be criminal; that appearances,
" which might ſeem to ground a preſumption of it,
" would be ſcandalous.

" I declare in conſequence, that I ſhall except from
" my oath in the moſt expreſs manner, whatever regards
" ſpiritual objects, becauſe I am convinced in my con-
" ſcience, that I cannot lawfully include them in it:
" and I beg you will conſider this exception, as the
" ſureſt pledge of my fidelity to what I ſhall ſwear."

No

No ſooner was this diſcourſe finiſhed, than the biſhops and eccleſiaſtics, and a very great number of lay deputies on the right ſide, roſe to ſignify that the oath of the 14th of July, would be taken by them in the ſame ſenſe. The aſſembly made no oppoſition to thoſe exceptions, when they were made; they ſerved as a rule to many of the clergy who had taken the civic oath.

The times were now changed, and the objects of this oath multiplied with the national decrees. In proportion as freſh irreligious articles were added, the jacobins, their municipal friends, and the new legiſlators rejected theſe reſtrictions. The French conſtitution, when finiſhed, was found to contain preciſely all the errors of the pretended civil conſtitution of the clergy. Camus, his committee, and the intruded clergy had inſerted them dexterouſly. He had even made uſe of fraud, to compaſs the inſertion of thoſe articles which regarded the intruders. With them and a ſmall number of deputies, he begun the ſeſſion before the appointed time; and had iſſued a decree, which declared what regarded the new clergy and their ſalaries a part of the French conſtitution, without waiting for the other deputies. This conſtitution contained moreover the errors concerning religious vows, marriage, and the choice of paſtors. In the laſt article, it confirmed all the laws paſſed on the conſtitution decreed for the clergy. The eccleſiaſtics perceived that although the formula of the oath was altered, hereſy was not excluded. A general cry which prevailed among them, ſufficiently ſhewed that they would not be caught in the new ſnare. The king was ſenſible of this, and refuſed his ſanction.

This decree of the 29th of November, in conſequence of the king's refuſal, might be looked upon as having never paſſed. The jacobins and the intruders made themſelves ſome amends by giving a looſe to their fury, whenever

whenever the conſtituted authorities did not oppoſe them with vigour.

However the perſecution was leſs felt in Paris; they ſeemed tired of perſecuting the nonjuring prieſts. The rods no longer appeared ſuſpended at the church doors. Even policy, rather than the tolerating philoſophy of the magiſtrates, maintained a certain degree of liberty. The population of that immenſe city was ſenſibly diminiſhed. Many of the rich inhabitants who were perſons of known piety, had quitted not only the capital but the kingdom, in order to find a ſpot where they might practiſe their religion freely. It was not yet forgotten, that this motive had made the king's aunts quit France at the beginning of the ſchiſm. Theſe generous princeſſes preferred a voluntary exile, to the ſacrifice of their religion, braved the outrages of the municipal officers, and carried to Rome virtues worthy of the poſterity of St. Lewis.

It was known that the people noticed the dimunition of charities, and of lucrative work. When ruffians inſulted people of rank while going to the catholic churches, the citizens oppoſed them: *Would you have thoſe ariſtocrates carry their money with them, when they quit France to hear maſs?* Theſe conſiderations preſerved a kind of liberty in Paris, when the confiſcation of the goods of an emigrant, would be looked upon as an atrocious robbery; even ſeveral rich inhabitants had returned thither. The capital in general applauded theſe diſpoſitions in the directions of the departments.

The clergy juſtified by the report of the miniſter.

The clubs and the intruders had very oppoſite intereſts. To be revenged for the refuſal of the royal ſanction, they redoubled the perſecution in the provinces. The addreſſes to the

national aſſembly, the accuſations of raiſing riots, or oppoſing the payment of taxes, of raiſing men for the provinces, and exciting religious troubles every where, became more frequent than ever. The jacobin legiſlators pretended to be alarmed; and called upon the miniſter of the exterior, at that time Cayer, to make his report. This young man valued himſelf on being a philoſopher; he ſaw nothing but fanaticiſm, folly, and ſuperſtition in the man of a religious diſpoſition, however he was ſincere. His report, notwithſtanding the impiety that infected it, cleared the nonjuring prieſts from all the charges brought againſt them; of plotting, favouring a counter-revolution, or raiſing men. "Let us withdraw, "ſaid he, from the account of our religious troubles, "the reproaches which charge them with exciting the "people to inſurrections, favouring the obſtacles thrown "in the way, to obſtruct the circulation of different "articles of ſubſiſtence, and the payment of taxes, I "have not been informed, that any prieſt has been "puniſhed by the tribunals as a diſturber of the public "peace, though legal accuſations have certainly been "brought againſt ſeveral."

The departments attached to the jacobins, were for ſhutting up the conventual churches, becauſe the nonjuring prieſts generally ſaid maſs there; the miniſter anſwered: "I am perſuaded there is not a town in the "kingdom, in which the ſhutting up theſe churches "has not occaſioned troubles, or at leaſt reclamations.— "It is worth notice, that peace has been in general "preſerved in the towns in which theſe churches were "left open, particularly in thoſe where there was a "great number of them. I may cite Paris as an inſtance, "every thing has been quiet there, ſince the non-"parochial churches heretofore ſhut up, have been "reſtored to thoſe who deſired it. On the other ſide, "I obſerve, that where the adminiſtrative bodies have

"kept

" kept theſe churches ſhut, there have been troubles,
" more or leſs violent."

The miniſter added, that many citizens in different departments, inſiſted that the non-juring prieſts ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their worſhip, that ſeveral had offered to contribute to their ſupport, rather than adopt the worſhip of the conſtitutionaliſts; that ſeveral commons ſolicited the repeal of a decree againſt their old paſtors; that the inhabitants of one, had threatened to retire into Spain, if their prieſts were not ſent back; that ſeveral departments exiled, or impriſoned theſe prieſts without *any regard to legal forms*; that ſeveral commons in the department of La Lozere, had requeſted him in the moſt inſtant manner, not to ſend the troops, the department called for, in order to effect by force the induction of the ſucceſſors of the non-juring pariſh prieſts; a meaſure which the commons dreaded above all things.

Laſtly, the miniſter reprobated the cruelty and the futility of the meaſures, which had been adopted to put an end to the internal troubles. " It does not appear to
" me, ſaid he, that after exporting and impriſoning the
" prieſts, tranquillity and that unity of ſentiment which
" is ſo much deſired, have returned. From all that
" has been done by the departments, only this conclu-
" ſion can be drawn, that they have been greatly
" perplexed, and that with extreme indiſcretion and
" very impolitically, they had wound up a ſpring,
" which it is dangerous to meddle with."

Although this report was by no means conformable to the wiſhes of the aſſembly, it was ordered to be printed. It told them in plain language, that the true means of preſerving peace was to allow the people to frequent the churches, where their old paſtors officiated; and to turn their reſearches and puniſhments againſt the ruffians,

who

who had recourſe to every kind of violence, in order to drive theſe people and their prieſts from the churches. But this would not have ſuited the jacobins. They were for peace; not as men who can procure it with citizens, of a different faith and manners, but as ruffians, who to live in peace among themſelves, moleſt, impriſon, or drive away all honeſt people.

The clergy juſtified by facts.

Facts however ſpoke more in favor of the non-juring prieſts, than the reports of the miniſter. The pariſhes where thoſe prieſts had not been diſplaced, enjoyed tranquillity, and paid their taxes regularly, becauſe the prieſts, at the ſame time they preached the doctrines of religion, inculcated thoſe truths, which maintain public order; while nothing but tumults, plundering, and burning were to be ſeen elſewhere. In ſeveral pariſhes, in that of Rhedon for inſtance, at Pont-chateau in Britany, Dampierre in Normandy, the adminiſtrators had foreſeen the true cauſe of theſe troubles, and had repreſented that they were owing to the violence offered to the people, in endeavouring to force from them their paſtors; and to the odious diſpoſitions of their ſucceſſors. Several communities had laid their reclamations before the aſſembly and the king. The aſſembly ſuppreſſed theſe complaints; the king ſought a remedy for them in proclamations dictated by the ſpirit of toleration, which ought to have put an end to all the evils, for which the aſſembly ſeemed already to render him reſponſible. He ordered that every citizen ſhould be ſet at liberty, who had been confined merely for his religious opinions. Theſe proclamations were as uſeleſs in the department when the jacobins bore the ſway, as the prayers of the prieſts. The king himſelf and his miniſters, were denounced to the aſſembly, as favourers of the non-jurors. The intruder Fauchet denounced the orders ſent to the department of Calvados,

as

as an act of tyranny and depotiſm, of the miniſter De Leſſart. The orders were read, and Fauchet confounded, was the only one who could ſee any thing more in them than the wiſh of the law, and of public tranquillity.

New violences againſt the Catholics.

The jacobin legiſlators, who were ſatisfied that the king deſired to put an end to the religious troubles, could not condemn his proclamations openly; they were only more firmly reſolved to render them uſeleſs. The *veto* oppoſed to the decree of the 29th of December, had already given them occaſion to obſerve at their meetings, that the declarations of the king and his miniſters, were but empty appearances, that with a more ſincere deſire of reſtoring public tranquillity, the king would not have oppoſed their decree againſt the non-juring prieſts. Theſe cenſures were repeated in the provinces; the perſecution was redoubled in order to continue the troubles, which might afford a pretext for paſſing ſtill more ſevere decrees.

On the other hand, the Catholics were moſt firmly reſolved to avoid all religious communication with the falſe paſtors. A new brief of the Pope had confirmed them in this reſolution. His Holineſs conſulted by the true biſhops about certain difficulties, to which the ſchiſm had given riſe, had anſwered with his ordinary wiſdom, without declining from the rule of an inviolable ſteadineſs, in whatever concerns the confeſſion of the truth.

The firſt difficulty regarded the adminiſtration of baptiſm. By the ancient laws, the civil ſtate of children was in a dubious ſituation, unleſs the act aſcertaining their birth and baptiſm was entered in the pariſh regiſter; by the new decrees, the intruded pariſh prieſts were become maſters of theſe regiſters, and ſole miniſters of the ſacraments, in the pariſhes they had uſurped; poſterior

decrees

decrees had not yet decided, whether a declaration of the child's birth, before the municipal officers, was ſufficient to aſcertain its civil ſtate. It was therefore neceſſary to know, whether the danger of leaving the ſtate and civil rights of the child uncertain, was a ſufficient reaſon for calling in the falſe paſtors to chriſten children. The Pope, on the grounds that ſalvation was to be preferred to every temporal advantage, anſwered that the intruded paſtors being certainly ſchiſmatics, and their ſchiſm being evidently proved, it was not lawful to call upon them for the adminiſtration of baptiſm, unleſs in a caſe of *extreme neceſſity*, that is, when there is no other perſon at hand to adminiſter this ſacrament, and open to a dying infant the gate of heaven. That to act otherwiſe would be to communicate with ſchiſmatics in ſpirituals, even in the crime of ſchiſm and to approve it; which is condemned by the law of nature, as well as the law of God.

The ſecond queſtion regarded marriage, which conſidered in reſpect to the civil ſtate is liable to the ſame difficulties. The Pope took for his rule the deciſions of his predeceſſors; particularly one of Benedict XIV. This Pontiff being applied to concerning the marriages contracted in Holland by the Catholics before the civil magiſtrates, or the proteſtant miniſters, had anſwered, that the Catholics ought to know they are doing what is merely a civil act, by which they ſhew their ſubmiſſion to the laws of the country, and to the decrees of their ſovereigns, when they appear in this manner; but that they do not contract a lawful marriage, if it be not celebrated before their ordinary paſtor and two witneſſes; that they are not man and wife before God and his church; and that if they live together as ſuch, they are guilty of a great crime in the ſight of God. This deciſion was grounded on the council of Trent, having been publiſhed in the united provinces, in conſequence whereof

whereof the marriage not contracted before the lawful paſtor and two witneſſes, cannot, according to the expreſſion of the ſaid pontiff, be reputed valid, either as a ſacrament or as a contract.

The ſame reaſons dictated the ſame deciſions to Pius VI. The difficulty muſt increaſe with years, when all the lawful paſtors being driven out of the kingdom, it would no longer be poſſible to have recourſe to them. It is likely that the law of the council of Trent, would then be looked upon as ſuſpended by the church, whoſe intention it could not be to keep up ſuch an impediment, and thus render invalid all the marriages in a great kingdom, where the obſervation of this law was become impoſſible. France however was not yet reduced to this extremity.

The third queſtion regarded funerals. The rule laid down by the Pope, preſcribed, that the burials of the Catholics ſhould be attended by the lawful paſtors in the houſes, where the uſual prayers ſhould be ſaid, and ceremonies performed; this being done, the intruder might take away the corpſe, and commit it to the earth; but that the Catholics were not to accompany the convoy, or to join in prayer with the intruder.

This brief was dated the 26th of September, 1791. Other acts of his Holineſs ſerved to increaſe in the Catholics their averſion to the ſchiſm. He deprived of his cardinal's cap Brienne, who, without a bluſh, had excuſed his taking the oath, by ſaying that though he had farther ſworn to maintain the pretended civil conſtitution of the clergy, it did not follow that he held the doctrine of the ſaid conſtitution. The Pope likewiſe named ſome of the true biſhops, ſpiritual adminiſtrators in the dioceſes, which had been abandoned and delivered

over

over to intruſion, by the four biſhops who had taken the oath.

Theſe diſpoſitions of the holy See, came by degrees to the knowledge of the Catholics diſperſed in the different provinces of France, who in conſequence thereof became ſtill more determined, to decline all religious communication with the intruders. Theſe knew full well, how far they might depend on the protection of the ruling party. Spite increaſed the deſire of getting rid of the old paſtors, who were ſtill followed by a great part of the people. They inflamed the clubs; they called to their aſſiſtance thoſe patriots, who in the dreſs of national guards, with guns and ſabres, gave law every where.

The non-juring prieſts were then more narrowly watched than ever; thoſe who followed them to maſs, who applied to them for the ſacraments, were looked upon as enemies of their country. It was then thought that he who moleſted and threatened the catholics in their churches did too little; the moſt violent means were therefore employed, to force them to come to the churches of the intruders; particularly on the moſt ſolemn feſtivals. Neither age nor rank ſecured any one from ſuch violences. An unfortunate old man, who it ſhould ſeem ought not to have been ſuſpected of ariſtocracy (he was a ſhoemaker) could not eſcape being threatened with death by the ruffians at Gouberville, if he refuſed to accompany them to the conſtitutional maſs. Trembling, and reproached by his conſcience with a kind of apoſtacy, he allows them to conduct him to the church; no ſooner had they entered than he falls down before the crucifix, and with tears in his eyes, cries out, Pardon me, O Lord, pardon me! The intruder aſtoniſhed, aſks him ſternly what is the meaning of his cries and his tears! Alas! replies the old man, I aſked pardon of God for the ſacrilege we

are

are going to commit; you in ſaying maſs, and I in hearing it. The mercileſs intruder orders that he be not allowed to depart; his tears, ſobs, and loud cries diſturb the meeting; however, the conſtitutionaliſts with their ſabres render his attempts to eſcape ineffectual.

In the pariſh of Ivecrique and quarter of Caux, the intruded prieſt, enraged at ſeeing himſelf abandoned, ſets the municipal officers and national guards at work, to force the pariſhioners to come to his church; they lead thither by violence the Abbé Engrand, vicar of the pariſh, whoſe diſcourſes had contributed to keep up the averſion to ſchiſm. He tries every method to get away: at length an honeſt citizen of the name of Laron, whoſe indignation was rouzed by theſe violences, interpoſes; he is thrown into priſon, and given to underſtand, that he muſt not expect to be liberated, unleſs he ſends his children to the intruder's maſs; he chuſes to remain in confinement.

The ſame prieſt had contrived to perſuade a young girl, that ſhe might receive her firſt communion from him. Being better informed, ſhe declares publicly that the falſe paſtor had deceived her, and that ſhe will no longer acknowledge him; he has her conducted by main force to his church; ſhe proteſts with ſo much warmth, and ſo loudly, againſt this violence, that they are forced to let her go.

In the dioceſe of Agen, a ſiſter of the pariſh prieſt of St. Cecile, ſhewed ſtill greater averſion to the intruders. The ruffians not having been able to drag her to the conſtitutional church, took a revenge equally ſhocking and brutal, of which, blows laid on with a heavy hand were the ſligheſt part; in a word, ſhe expired a martyr of chaſtity and religion, in preſence of theſe inhuman miſcreants.

At

At Villeneuve, near Cordes in Albigeois, a young married couple, having refuſed the miniſtry of the intruder at their marriage, ſome ruffians of the new church broke open the door of the houſe, the very evening of their wedding: the huſband ſuppoſing that he was the only object of their fury, makes his eſcape: the wife in a ſwoon, remains a prey to theſe ſavages; who after ſatisfying an infamous paſſion, retained all their ferocity; with their nails, as a tyger might have done with his claws, they tear off her breaſts, and throw them on the floor, then leave her to wait till death relieved her from her horrible ſituation.

The reader may probably find the account of ſuch ſhocking ſcenes too diſguſting. The little we have ſaid may enable him to form a judgment of the impious revolution, which rendered Frenchmen capable of perpetrating ſuch atrocious barbarities. On the other hand we may ſee the power of religion; and, perhaps, it will not be going too far to ſay, that the hiſtory of the univerſe does not afford any thing more ſtriking, than the inſtances of greatneſs of ſoul which we are about to relate.

Heroical behaviour of ſome ſimple laymen.

Some leagues from Rennes, a ſimple labourer, whoſe name ought to have been preſerved, refuſed to adhere to ſchiſm, to hereſy, to the intruded paſtors of the conſtitution; a body of national guards is ſent, to conduct him to the ſervice of the falſe paſtor. When informed of their errand, he anſwers, that his religion does not allow him to go. The guards order him to follow them to the conſtitutional church; he refuſes, and is in conſequence thereof dragged along through the fields: he moves on, like a man who follows without reſiſtance, though againſt his will, the motion impreſſed on him by other people: at length a fence ſtops them; the guards order him to

get

get over; he remains immoveable, and ſeemingly at his eaſe: the guards, irritated at his behaviour, lift their ſabres; he ſeems to wait for the blow which is to diſpatch him: at length they lay hold of him, and place his neck on a ſtake, and while one has him faſt by his hair on one ſide of the fence, others hold down his body, another party lifting up their ſabres, threaten to cut off his head, if he does not promiſe to croſs the fence: he continues immoveable, and anſwers, *You may ſtrike!* Whether the national guards were no longer able to ſupport ſuch a ſpectacle, or had a mind to expoſe him to repeated trials, they lift him over the fence. As there were thirty more to be paſſed before they could reach the church, and the labourer continued reſolute, the ſame ſcene was repeated at every fence. Was any man ever a martyr ſo often in one day? This labourer is a Frenchman; I am proud of the name, notwithſtanding the revolutions of my country. As long as France produces ſuch men, I ſhall acknowledge myſelf a native of it without bluſhing.

There was likewiſe a farmer, by name Francis John Chantebel, who lived in the village of Chêne, and pariſh of Martigné Ferchaud, belonging to the dioceſe of Rennes; France, when his name is mentioned, need not envy Rome her Scævola.

Chantebel was acquainted with the duties of religion; he read with pleaſure a little catechiſm, which had been publiſhed for the uſe of the faithful during the perſecution. This book which was precious to his faith, was likewiſe his crime. Some ruffians found it in his houſe; whereupon he was thrown into priſon. A committee is aſſembled, which orders the catechiſm to be burnt; accordingly a fire is made with great ceremony; Chantebel is brought forth, and the ſentence is read, which condemns the book to be burnt, and him to ſet fire to it. He obſerves, that it contained the principles of his religion, which he was not diſpoſed to renounce. On this he

he is threatened; however he perſiſts immoveably in his reſolution; whereupon one of the ruffians lays hold of the flaming torch, and burns the hand of the intrepid confeſſor, who thereupon cries out, "you may burn, not only my hand, but my whole body, before you ſhall make me do any thing unworthy of my religion!"

The ruffians confounded and diſconcerted, deliberate how they are to proceed; a ſecond decree is iſſued, which orders, that he ſhould be led through the ſtreets of Martigné, mounted on a horſe, whoſe tail he ſhould hold in his hand. He ſubmits to this without repugnance, and amidſt the ſhouts of the rabble, ſhews by his compoſure that he enjoys peace of mind. Among thoſe who were drawn together by this ſpectacle, was Chantebel's wife, who, like the mother of the Maccabees, addreſſed him with energetic ſimplicity; "perſevere, and our good God for whom thou ſuffereſt, will reward thee."

The philoſophy of the day, with the moſt inveterate hatred of religion, gloried in having deſtroyed the empire of ſuperſtition. It was proper the pride of this ſect ſhould be humbled. Already it was drawing people back to the moſt degrading ſuperſtitions; to the ceremonies of paganiſm. Idols had been forged, called *liberty* and *equality*; France offered incenſe to them, and bent the knee before idols of ſtone and wood. The trunk of a tree repreſented the god Mirabeau. This trunk had been cut into the form of a ſtatue, as ugly as the god, and had been placed on a pedeſtal in a ſquare at Breſt. The inauguration of it occaſioned a civic feaſt. The national guard arrives in great pomp; the citizens reſort thither in crowds; the incenſe ſmokes, and the Marſeillois hymn is chanted. At the time fixed for the adoration, a voice is heard, which orders all to fall on their knees before the god of deformity and rebellion. While the municipal officers, the juſtices of peace, the tribunal, the national guards, and people were lying proſtrate, one might have

have taken them for the ſlaves of Nebuchodonoſor, who had fallen down before his idol. As philoſophical pride renewed the turpitude of paganiſm, it was but proper that Chriſtianity ſhould give a ſpecimen of the fortitude of its firſt heroes. In the midſt of the pagan crowd, one man alone remains ſtanding; he looks round, feels his indignation ariſe at what he ſees, and cries out, *wretches, you are guilty of idolatry!* His voice was heard notwithſtanding the noiſe of drums and trumpets; the vile adorers of the idol grow furious, and cry out, *Kneel down, or you muſt die*; he anſwers, *I will rather die*; *I know but one God of heaven and earth*; *I will not bend the knee before the idol.* Upon this his friends got round him, and preſs him to kneel down; he ſtill continues ſtanding, and repeats his refuſal. This man was not of the loweſt rank; he had been appointed aſſeſſor to a juſtice of peace; his name was Féburier. Behind him was his wife, looking at him from a window; and while he was in this trying ſituation, he happened to caſt his eyes on her: he was at too great a diſtance to hear what ſhe ſaid; however, her looks, and her manner ſeemed to ſay, *Courage, my friend, act in a manner worthy of thy God.* Near her were three of her children whom ſhe had ordered to their prayers: her diſcourſe to them was to the following effect: *Children, your father is fighting for his God*; *beg of this great God to give him ſtrength, that he may hold out, and not yield.* The father turns about again, and has a ſight of his wife and children; but as this circumſtance, and the fear of not dying alone, might have affected him to a degree of weakneſs, he carefully ſhuns the ſight of them, but ſtill reſiſts. At length his friends are aſhamed, and ſhame giving them courage, they riſe, remove the ſabres, conduct him home, guard the entrance of his houſe, and drive away the ruffians. His wife embraces him, ſaying at the ſame time, *Thou art worthy of me*; *give theſe little ones thy bleſſing, and may God give them thy conſtancy.*

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The more the catholics diſplayed that firmneſs which comes from above, the more the conſtitutionaliſts ſhewed a fury, which hell alone could inſpire. Their atrocities extended to a very conſiderable number of towns and villages, and to every province. Langres, Bourdeaux and Metz; Donzi, in the diſtrict of Cone; Mellerault in that of l'Aigle; Tailezay near St. Flour; Vazieres near Douai; St. Martin in the iſland of Rhé; Mirecourt in Lorraine; Niſmes in Languedoc; Le Puy in Velay; and many other places were the theatres of theſe horrid ſcenes. In them was repeated whatever the church had ſuffered during the moſt cruel ſchiſm; even that of the Circumcellions, the only men, perhaps, whom hiſtory can compare with the French intruders. There were, no doubt, ſome among them who were aſhamed of having recourſe to ſuch methods for the eſtabliſhment of their church; however, they were in general the chief inſtigators, frequently the actors in ſuch ſcenes. They ſometimes put themſelves at the head of the ruffians, ſpurred them on, animated them; however, it now and then happened, that even thoſe who were attached to them, were ſhocked at their violent declamations, which ſometimes came from the pulpits from which they drove the lawful paſtors. Even at Paris, where the department endeavoured to ſupport toleration, an intruded vicar, in the church of the abbey of St. Germains, ſeemed to have no other buſineſs in the pulpit, but to blow the coals of perſecution. Preaching there againſt the pretended incendiaries, he carried his violence ſo far, that the whole auditory ſhuddered, and gave him to underſtand that he ſhould not be allowed to preach any more, if he did not ſpeak with more moderation.

At Gondreville, in the diſtrict of Vezelize in Lorraine, the inhabitants were under the neceſſity of preſenting a requeſt to the department of la Meurthe, againſt their conſtitutional paſtor, who, in his diſcourſes from the pulpit, treated

treated thoſe who had only refuſed to perjure themſelves and change their religion, as traitors, enemies of their country, and deſerving every puniſhment the magiſtrates could inflict. Worked up to a degree of fanaticiſm by his leſſons, ſome pretended patriots after ſermon broke into the houſes of the catholics, and treated them in a very ſhocking manner. A widow and her daughter were the principal objects of their fury. Beſides plundering the houſe in which theſe women lived, they beat and otherwiſe uſed them ill in various ways; and if they ſurvived ſuch cruel treatment, it was only to ſhew how much their faith was ſuperior to the helliſh malice of their perſecutors.

At Rochelle an intruded pariſh prieſt was not aſhamed of aſſembling a mob of ruffians in the church of the Auſtin friars, and of imploring the protection of heaven on their arms, in an expedition of the moſt diſguſting kind. Thoſe furies, electrified by the deteſtable wretch, fall on the catholics, and the firſt they meet has his head cleaved by a ſtroke of a ſabre; two women are trampled under foot and ſuffocated; young girls and their mothers whipped. Two catholic prieſts are thrown into priſon; all the reſt, and among them ſome who are eighty years old, without ſtrength or reſources, are expelled their houſes, and unmercifully driven out from the town, and threatened with a halter if they return. The ruffians ſpread themſelves about the town, break open the doors of the convents, call on the nuns to take the civic oath, ſcourge and beat them for refuſing; call upon them again to ſwear; as they perſiſt in their refuſal, to a repetition of the ſame cruelties, are added the moſt ſhocking outrages againſt modeſty. Theſe good women pray for their perſecutors, and neither yield to ſcourges or ill treatment of any kind; they all thank heaven for giving them ſtrength to confeſs their faith; the devil and the intruder ſpent their rage in vain.

It

Exceſſes of the intruded clergy.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the emotions of indignation and reſentment, with which the apoſtate prieſts beheld theſe proofs of firmneſs and perſeverance, in the defence of the old cauſe. Not content to act the infamous part of ſpies and informers againſt men with whom they were connected, either by the ties of blood or the habits of an apparent friendſhip, they appeared publicly as their perſecutors, and clamorouſly urged their condemnation. Blinded by rage, they forget every principle of honor and honeſty; and rage alone, infernal rage, can account for the exceſſes which they have committed.

In the month of February, 1792, Jardin, the apoſtate curate of Caulcé, in the dioceſe of Mans, being on a journey with a village ſurgeon of the name of Barbet, who had imbibed all the hatred of his curate for the nonjuring clergy, and paſſing through the hamlet of Ligné, recollected that here lived a Mr. Robbeville, his pariſhioner, and a vicar who had refuſed to perjure himſelf after his example. Turning to his fellow-traveller, "Go, "ſays he, and bring me that nonjuring raſcal; I will tie "him to the tail of my horſe." The practitioner deſired no better ſport, and arming himſelf with a piſtol and a ſabre, advanced boldly to the houſe. Here he found the vicar ſitting in a pair of wooden ſhoes, and reading his breviary. "Follow me," ſays he, "or I "will blow thy brains out." Mr. Robbeville follows him in humble ſubmiſſion to the door. Here the apoſtate waited for him, and as ſoon as he appeared, he threw a halter round his neck, faſtened the nooſe, and dragged him to the tail of Barbet's horſe, while the rider holding his piſtols and ſabre in his hand, threatened him with inſtant death if he made the leaſt reſiſtance. The priſoner being properly ſecured, they both mounted their horſes. Barbet's whip often applied to the ſides of his horſe,

always

always reaches the vicar behind. The inhuman curate places himſelf in the rear, and with many a heavy blow urges the ſpeed of the priſoner, while his horſe is made to tread on his heels. The poor vicar, unable to keep pace with his executioners, ſtumbles and falls breathleſs to the ground; but the mercileſs curate's whip raiſes him again, and ſets him on his feet. This ſcene is often repeated, during an hour and a quarter that they were on their journey, through roads hardly paſſable at this ſeaſon of the year, nor does it conclude till the exhauſted vicar falls, not to be raiſed again by any violence they could apply to him. The villains concluding he was a dead man, left him and fled.

I ſhould make an apology to my readers for recording theſe horrid ſcenes, if any excuſe could palliate, any artifice conceal them. To the man who reflects they will naturally ſuggeſt this queſtion, What ſort of men could they be who took the oath preſcribed by the aſſembly, and became the prieſts of the new church? *Their* character alone is an ample juſtification of thoſe who refuſed it. Where was the Gallican church when ſuch were the paſtors, and ſuch the new legiſlators? What government could there be where the conſtituted authorities left unpuniſhed the well-known authors of theſe atrocious deeds?

At the approach of Eaſter and Whitſuntide, the conſtitutional clergy and the jacobins redoubled their efforts to get rid of the non-juring prieſts. The former were ſenſible, that at a time when the generality of the faithful received the ſacraments, their unworthineſs would be expoſed by the deſertion of a great number, who would apply to paſtors more deſerving of their confidence. The latter knew, that the reign of faction and impiety muſt be weakened by a nearer approach to the true religion. If we except a few cities, ſuch as Paris, Amiens and Rouen, where the eſtabliſhed authorities ſtill continued to protect

the liberty of religious worſhip, that of the Catholic Church met no where with the leaſt degree of toleration. To ſay Maſs it was neceſſary to find an altar in ſome dark receſs of a private houſe; the appearance of a religious congregation was an unpardonable crime. On the leaſt ſuſpicion the houſes of the laity were ſearched. If a crucifix, a chalice or a veſtment was found, the inhabitants were marked as ſo many conſpirators of ariſtocracy. But the houſes of the prieſts and of all thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be attached to them, were more ſtrictly watched on Sundays and feſtivals. The chalices and ſacred veſſels which had hitherto been left in ſome of the religious houſes, were now ſought with avidity and profaned by the moſt ſhocking ſacrileges. A few inſtances will enable us to form a judgment of theſe profanations, and of the inſatiable avarice of the municipal officers. The perſon who carried away the Remonſtrance from the church of the Theatins at Paris, took it out of the tabernacle without waiting for a prieſt to remove the ſacred hoſt. The cries of a multitude of witneſſes to this ſacrilegious abomination, at length obliged the municipal officer, who was already in the ſtreet, to return, and ſuffer the prieſt, with trembling hand, to reſtore the ſacred victim to the tabernacle.

Another municipal officer commanded a Capuchin to deliver the beſt ciboreum into his hands. The religious man repreſented that it contained many conſecrated hoſts. "What is that to me?" anſwered the magiſtrate: "I "will have it weighed this inſtant." "Well," ſays the Capuchin, "here it is; weigh him, who will one day "weigh thee."

It is well known, that in the early ages of chriſtianity, ſomething more was required of the faithful than a ſimple abhorrence of theſe profanations. They were recommended to conceal with care the ſacred veſſels from the prying

prying eyes of the Pagans. Whoever yielding to violence dared to diſcover or to deliver them to the infidels, was ranked with thoſe who gave up the ſacred books, and were conſidered as traitors. Such was the ancient diſcipline of the church, and ſuch ſhould have been the conduct of the French clergy on this occaſion: they ſhould not have contented themſelves with ſighing over the violation of every thing which is held ſacred among men; they ſhould have taken a more active part, and have ſecreted and defended the holy veſſels at the hazard of their lives. The profanation in both caſes was the ſame; the pretext only was different. The national debt was the plea of the revolutioniſts. The fear of incurring the imputation of inſenſibility to the neceſſities of the public, make the only difference between the ſituation of the ancient and modern clergy. The latter lamented the profanation of the ſanctuary, but they ſurrendered the ſacred depoſite to the ungenerous magiſtrate.

There were ſome, however, who not content with a ſilent abhorrence, took a more decided part. Mr. Beſſin, curate of St. Michael, in the dioceſe of Evreux, refuſed to deliver to his apoſtate ſucceſſor the ſacred veſſels and ornaments of his church. In imitation of the ancient fathers he concealed them; and he was proclaimed a thief. A furious mob attacked him, and hurried him before the municipal tribunal. Aſhamed and vexed to ſee himſelf arraigned as a common thief, he pleads, that far from deſigning to appropriate to his own uſe any part of the property in queſtion, his only wiſh was to ſecure from profanation the ſacred veſſels, in compliance with the ancient laws of the church. His plea was overruled, and to prevent increaſing calumny, he conſented to ſurrender the hidden treaſure. This was not enough; they demanded his life. In vain did the mayor conjure them to await the iſſue of a fair trial; in vain did he throw himſelf at their feet, and beg of them not to

diſhonour themſelves by a daſtardly aſſaſſination. Mr. Beſſin was dragged from his priſon into the ſtreet, aſſailed with the butt ends of their muſkets, and pierced with numberleſs wounds. His death did not aſſuage their fury. They cut off his head and arms, and threw them into the river. Then returning to the lifeleſs trunk, they dragged it about, and continued to disfigure it by freſh wounds, and obliged all who happened to paſs by to aid them in this act of ſavage barbarity. It was at length thrown near the gates of the burying-ground, where it remained ſeveral days expoſed to public curioſity, and a prey to carnivorous animals, before the conſtitutional curate would conſent to its interment.

If the municipal officers did not encourage theſe outrages, they were not indolent in the ſearch of the ſacred veſſels. If they left a ſingle chalice in a convent where the cloiſtered virgins were ſuffered to remain, if they were ſuffered to hear one Maſs, great care was taken that the doors ſhould be ſhut, and at laſt they inſiſted that the Maſs ſhould be ſaid by none but a conſtitutional prieſt. Rather than ſhare the guilt of hereſy and of ſchiſm, the pious nuns ſacrificed the only remaining comfort to the will of an avenging God. Without prieſt, without ſacraments, and without ſacrifice, they redoubled their fervor, and oppoſed an invincible fortitude to the ſolicitations of the uſurping clergy, and the menaces of an infatuated magiſtracy.

At this time, the king himſelf was not ſuffered to enjoy that liberty of religious worſhip, which he had ſanctioned for the reſt of the empire. They had ſucceeded in perſuading him, that this legal liberty would juſtify the eſtabliſhment of the civil conſtitution of the clergy, but he could never be induced to embrace the ſyſtem of hereſy and ſchiſm. He had once aſſiſted at the Divine Office celebrated by a conſtitutional prieſt,

but

but he did it with the greateſt reluctance. In his own chapel none but catholic prieſts officiated, and he diſmiſſed his confeſſor who was curate of St. Euſtache, and who had taken the oath.

The conſtitutionaliſts will never forgive this marked predilection for the ancient religion. At Eaſter, his majeſty was deſirous of performing his devotions at St. Cloud. His deſign was either betrayed or ſuſpected by the jacobins and conforming clergy, and they determined to defeat it. With this view they hired and diſpatched a mob to Verſailles. They arrived in the moſt tumultuous diſorder juſt as the king was ſtepping into his coach, ſeized the heads of the horſes and ſwore they ſhould not ſtir. Then addreſſing themſelves directly to his majeſty, they ſaluted him with a tremendous volley of oaths, imprecations and menaces, denouncing vengeance on his head, if, inſtead of going to St. Cloud, he did not receive the communion from the hands of the conſtitutional curate. The king, with great goodneſs, repreſented to them, that he had a right to that liberty of conſcience which he had ſanctioned for others. The ungovernable rabble heard him not, but continued to inſult him in terms the moſt groſs and outrageous. He had the patience to wait a whole hour, amidſt this torrent of abuſe, for leave to depart. Vain was his hope, and he was at length obliged to yield to this brutal violence, and return to his palace.

About the ſame time, theſe worthy allies had recourſe to another ſtratagem, in order to extirpate the laſt remaining veſtiges of the catholic worſhip in France. Some pariſhes were ſtill ſerved by prieſts who had taken the oath to maintain the civil conſtitution of the clergy, but under ſuch reſtrictions as effectually ſecured their faith. But no ſuch reſtrictions were allowed. The new biſhops publiſhed what they called paſtoral letters and injunctions

injunctions, and they inſiſted that they ſhould be read by the preacher, as the decrees of the aſſembly had been read from the altar and the pulpit. This would have amounted to a formal recognition of the uſurper's authority, and to a participation of his guilt. This was alſo the caſe in diſpenſations and other acts of juriſdiction, which could not be acknowledged by the catholic clergy, without invading the rights of the lawful biſhops, and rendering ineffectual the reſtrictions with which they had taken the oath. Theſe reſtrictions were exploded, and every engine employed to draw theſe curates into the ſchiſm. They refuſe to obey: their oath is objected, and they produce the reſtrictions under which that oath was taken. Their reſtrictions are laughed at, and they are driven from their livings. They are now ſummoned to appear before the conſtitutional tribunals, and their ſagacious judges diſcover in theſe reſtrictions the crime of the moſt flagitious malefactors. Sentence is paſſed; and French prieſts are condemned, ſome to the ſtocks for two hours, others are impriſoned and ironed for two years, or to perpetual baniſhment from their native ſoil, for daring to except in their oath whatever might be contrary to the Catholic religion.

Such was the deſpotiſm and tyrannic ſway aſſumed by the jacobins over the minds of their countrymen, that they would not ſuffer whole pariſhes, deliberating in legal aſſemblies, to preſent an addreſs to the conſtituted authorities. One hundred inhabitants of the pariſh of St. James in the neighbourhood of Rennes had ſigned a reſolution to ſolicit the return of their late curate. They were anſwered by the impriſonment of the prieſt, and eight of the principal people, who had ſigned the addreſs, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate.

No

No difference was made between the prieſts who had refuſed the oath, and thoſe who had taken it under certain reſtrictions. They were all denounced, tried and condemned.

The curate had delivered ſome inſtructions concerning the character of the true church at St. Sulpice near Rennes. His head was ſhaved, he ſtood in the pillory four hours, and was condemned to priſon for ſix years. Mr. Michelet, curate of Noyale on the Villaine was accuſed of the ſame crime, and was ſentenced to three years impriſonment. He appealed to the tribunal of St. Malo, and obtained his option, either of a recantation of his doctrine, or of a perpetual impriſonment. He choſe the latter.

The leaſt appearance of zeal for the old religion expoſed its profeſſors to the utmoſt rigour of the new laws. A brief of the Pope, or a pamphlet on the ſubject of ſchiſm diſtributed, a child baptized any where but in the conſtitutional church, the name of the Pope pronounced aloud in a Catholic Chapel, was conſtrued into the crime of high treaſon, was indicted and puniſhed with impriſonment. It required the utmoſt exertions of the judges to reſtrain the ſavage fury of the multitude within any bounds. The magiſtrates of Lyons needed all the fortitude of Roman conſuls to acquit ſome prieſts, who were indicted for having prayed for the Pope, and having aſſiſted as witneſſes to a Catholic marriage, and who pleaded guilty to the indictment.

But the common arts of calumny, vexation and perſecution anſwered not the purpoſe of the conſtitutional clergy; and they ſoon adopted more deciſive meaſures. The funeral rites belonged excluſively to them. To oblige the faithful to have recourſe to their miniſtry in their

their illneſs, they refuſed to bury ſuch as had received the ſacraments from a Catholic prieſt. Their bodies were expoſed to a thouſand indecencies from the deluded multitude; they were pierced with pikes, disfigured with other weapons, thrown into the common ſewer, or at beſt only half buried. The magiſtrates were often called upon to put an end to theſe diſorders. This afforded a ſtrong preſumption in favour of the Catholic clergy. The conſtitutioniſt aſſigned but one reaſon for refuſing chriſtian burial to the deceaſed, and this was, that they had not died in the true religion. But they had adhered invariably to the old church, and therefore their antagoniſts muſt have changed their faith.

This will explain the remark of a Catholic prieſt, who had heard that Rouſſineau the conſtitutional curate of St. Germain had boaſted, that he would have converted the ſick man if he could have had acceſs to him. "He "would have converted him! Would he wiſh us and "the ſick man to be converted to his faith? Then why "did they tell us, they left us our religion whole and "entire?"

Blinded by paſſion, the conſtitutioniſts finding that partial perſecution produced not the deſired effect, reſolved by a bold ſtroke, to get at once rid of biſhops and prieſts, who remained immoveably attached to their duty. Already many of both deſcriptions had been obliged to quit their country; but thouſands ſtill remained diſperſed in the different provinces of France. Theſe were the objects of the new attack. The decree of the 29th of November was conſidered as too mild, and it was reſolved to renew the motion for tranſportation to Guyane, impriſonment, or baniſhment for life.

When the jacobins made a point of carrying a decree, their practice was to enforce the execution of it in the towns and departments devoted to them.

The

The ſtrength of the party lay chiefly in the north. There the decree of November 29, to which the king had refuſed his ſanction, was executed with a rigor unauthorized by the legiſlative aſſembly.

X. degree of the perſecution: a general impriſonment in the different departments. Cote d'Or, Dinan.

As early as the 15th of February, the department of Côte d'Or paſſed a reſolution that all the non-juring prieſts within their boundaries ſhould be impriſoned in the caſtle of Dinan. Perſecution had thinned their numbers, but forty-two were diſcovered and ſeized in the villages by the jacobine emiſſaries and the national guards. No reſiſtance was made; but ſome were ironed, and others thrown into the common jail amidſt thieves and murderers, and with them conducted by a file of ſoldiers to Dinan. Some were ſtript of their caſſocks, and for the amuſement of the ſpectators cloathed in the military uniform. At Jugon, a ſmall borough on the road, their guards demanded their money to ſatisfy them for their trouble. Here they were obliged to paſs the night in a vault which led to the common ſewer. The firſt diviſion that arrived at Dinan was thrown into a dark dungeon, the air of which was ſo infected, that all muſt have periſhed, as one of their number did, if the jailor had not at length conſented to let them occaſionally breathe the freſh air on the top of a tower. They were obliged to maintain themſelves, though the department owed them conſiderable ſums for arrears of penſions and ſalaries. The ſubſiſtence thus purchaſed was brought to them in the preſence of a guard armed with a piſtol and drawn ſabre, who added a large proportion of ſarcaſm and invective to their homely fare. They were ſearched and ſearched again by the municipal officers, without decency and without effect. If they wiſhed to write to their friends to ſolicit their charitable aſſiſtance, this muſt only be done under the inſpection of the guards;

three ſeparate commiſſioners muſt be employed to procure the three neceſſary articles of pens, ink and paper, and to each commiſſioner, and for each article, they muſt pay a price exceeding ten-fold their value. If any of their relations could obtain acceſs to them, it was to them a mournful viſit, and could afford no comfort to the unfortunate priſoners. To theſe hardſhips, equally ſevere, and unneceſſary, they ſubmitted with unwearied patience; but their hearts bled for the fall of one of their number. He took the fatal oath to free himſelf from an accumulation of miſeries. Of a numerous band whom we ſhall ſoon ſee expoſed to ſtill ſeverer trials, I do not find another inſtance of daſtardly deſertion.

Impriſonment of the prieſts in Angers.

A month later in the year, the departments of Maine and Loire iſſued a proclamation commanding all non-juring prieſts, without exception, to repair to the capital city, and not to exceed the diſtance of a mile from thence, under pain of impriſonment in the ſeminary. They were further ordered to appear at the town-houſe, at ſtated hours, to be muſtered, none to be excuſed but ſuch as could produce an atteſtation of illneſs under the hand of a phyſician.

The order was expreſs, and but a few days were allowed for the journey from the moſt diſtant parts of the country. They exhibited a curious ſpectacle on all the roads that led to Angers. They were crowded with prieſts too poor to procure what was neceſſary for the journey. The young ones arrived firſt; they were followed by the aged advancing with a ſlow pace and reſting on their ſtaffs; others again were bundled up in carts which the charitable drivers had ſuffered them to mount. A few whom the weight of years and infirmities ſunk on the road, were ſitting or ſtretched out imploring the compaſſion of thoſe who paſſed by, and intreating them to aſſiſt them to reach the term of their exile.

exile. The young vicars ſupported the aged curates. The citizens of Angers could not behold this ſcene with indifference. Where and how was this legion of confeſſors to be lodged? The Catholics, the burghers, and the moſt determined revolutioniſts felt the emotions of pity, and opened their doors. Many went to meet them and court them to their houſes. One of theſe, addreſſing himſelf to an old curate who had arrived late at the gate of the town, "Come with me, ſays he, come with me, "you will find few lodgings unoccupied at this late hour. "You will find ſome of your brethren in my houſe; but "I have a bed for you. I am much obliged to you, "anſwered the old man. I am ſenſible of the value of "your generous offer; but I have near eighteen livres in "my purſe; this will pay my board and lodging at an "inn for a few days. As you have a bed, I wiſh you "would reſerve it for an old prieſt ſtill more weary and "infirm than myſelf. I know he has not a farthing in "his pocket. As he walked with difficulty, and I was "unable to help him, I was obliged to leave him behind, "and God knows whether he will ever be able to arrive." Upon this the perſon went in ſearch of the poor old man, took him under his arm, and conducted him to his houſe. The mob, ever the dupes of deſigning men, felt none of theſe ſentiments for the unhappy ſufferers; but their brutal inſolence could never efface from the memory of the prieſts, the many obligations they had to their benevolent hoſts.

On the day fixed by the proclamation three hundred prieſts were aſſembled in the town of Angers. But there were ſtill ſome, who, ſhocked at the idea of leaving their pariſhes totally deſtitute of all ſpiritual aſſiſtance, thought it their duty to prefer the opportunity of miniſtering to them the comfort of religion during the Eaſter holydays to the honour of ſurrendering themſelves priſoners for Jeſus Chriſt. They remained diſguiſed in various ſhapes,

and

and concealed in different places. They were viſited in the night by the faithful, few at a time; they ſought comfort, edification and ſtrength from their inſtructions, they threw themſelves at their feet, burſting into tears, and conjuring them to adminiſter the ſacraments to them, received from their hands abſolution and the bleſſed euchariſt, with a fervor of devotion inſpired by the reflection, that perhaps this was the laſt time they ſhould receive them,—the laſt opportunity they ſhould have of addreſſing themſelves to a Catholic prieſt. Careful as they were to conceal the retreats of their ſpiritual fathers, ſome of them were apprehended in cellars, in garrets and hay-lofts, or in carrying the laſt comforts of religion to the ſick under cover of the night. They were ſurrounded with ſpies, who officiouſly ſearched the houſes and the beds of thoſe who were known to entertain ſuch a horror of ſchiſm and hereſy, that they were determined rather to die without the benefit of the ſacraments, than to receive them from the hands of the members of the new church.

Men thus devoted to the ſervice of the public could not long eſcape the vigilance and inveterate rancour of their enemies. Many of them were apprehended and conducted amidſt the ſhouts of an applauded multitude. A detachment of the regular troops and national guards employed in ſearching the caſtles of the nobility, fell in with ſome of the country curates, led them in triumph to Angers, and confined them under a ſtrong guard in the little ſeminary. The others had the town for their priſon. The benevolence of the citizens afforded a decent ſubſiſtence to thoſe, and there were many who had been brought in unprovided with every neceſſary.

The inſulting taunts of a miſguided multitude they treated with becoming contempt. But when they turned their eyes to the ſight of the ſtately edifices, monuments of

of the piety of their anceſtors, and once the pride of Angers; when they beheld cloiſters, churches, and parſonages all lying in one promiſcuous heap of ruins, their hearts were tortured with the moſt excruciating pangs. Four temples which adorned one of the ſquares were now levelled with the duſt. Chapels were become ſhops, and oratories turned into warehouſes. The cathedral was ſurrounded by the ruins of the cloiſter and of the houſes of the canons. The church of the Holy croſs had totally diſappeared. The iſle of St. Maurice waited only for the common accidents of wind and weather to moulder away and fall on another part which had already yielded to the ſtorm. Whilſt ſtatues and paintings defaced, recalled to mind the impious ravages of Iconoclaſts, renewed by our modern revolutioniſts. The tombs of the dead violated, burying grounds disfigured, human bones lying on the face of the earth, or emptied from tumbrels into the river, which malignantly threw them back on the ſhore, children playing with the ſculls of the deceaſed, and not unfrequently with the bones of their own father or mother; avarice employed in manuring the gardens with the mould of the church-yard, and the ſubſtance of their departed fellow-citizens, their friends and relations; the urns which contained the aſhes of tender huſbands ſold by public auction under the eyes of their diſconſolate widows; all theſe horrors we beheld at Angers, ſaid ſome of the prieſts who eſcaped from captivity, and we ſighed over a revolution which had extinguiſhed every ſentiment of reſpect which nature had implanted in the breaſt of man for the aſhes of the dead. "Before I "quitted Angers," ſaid Mr. Charnace, one of theſe prieſts, "I ſaw, and an involuntary ſigh eſcapes me on "the recollection, the ſhovel and the pickaxe employed "to diſturb the aſhes of my parents, and to deſtroy the "tombs of my anceſtors." I heard him with horror, and the only conſolation I could adminiſter was to remind him

him that he might have ſeen the ſame ſad ſpectacle, the ſame ſad violation of nature, of religious and civil ſociety, in two hundred other caſes in our unhappy country.

Amidſt theſe awful ruins the three hundred prieſts were ſummoned to appear for the firſt time before the town houſe to give in their names, to enable the municipal officers to make out a liſt of the priſoners. The days choſen for this exhibition were generally ſpeaking holy days, or market days, or fairs. At the hour appointed, theſe venerable prieſts, the aged and the infirm together, ſtand amidſt the uproar, confuſion, and inſults which the jacobins never failed to excite againſt them. A file of muſketeers attended, not to protect, but to inſult them. The municipal officers enjoy from the windows the motley aſſembly, and triumphed in the humiliation of the church. A commiſſary with a ſolemn countenance and deſpotic air opened the red book, on which was written in large characters, THE FOURH YEAR OF LIBERTY; and as a proof of this liberty, containing a liſt of thoſe three hundred prieſts torn with violence from their churches, their houſes, and their families, compelled to appear and to anſwer to their names, in order to aſcertain their ſubmiſſion to the decrees of tyranny, and their reſidence in a city which was now become their priſon. The pedantic deſpot of a country ſchool rules with leſs arbitrary ſway the youths entruſted to his care. A name accidentally miſtaken brought on ſtupid ſarcaſm or coarſe reproof. Low men when inveſted with power ſhould be moderate in its uſe, but experience ſhews that they add cruelty to pride. If it rained, froze, or ſnowed, they were ſure to be ſummoned, and obliged to wait till the important commiſſary ſhould chuſe to call over their names, or permit the aged and the infirm to get under ſhelter. If they were ſummoned more than once a day, it was during the

the eight days fair, when the mob and the country dealers ſaluted them with hiſſes, and groans, and menaces.

Some of the more reputable citizens, ſhocked at the indignities offered to theſe inoffenſive men, and among others the aged parent of one of them, waited on the mayor, and repreſented to him that they ought to be aſſembled in a more convenient place than in the midſt of the fair, where encreaſing diſorder marked their attendance. They were received with civility. The convent of the Benedictin monks is appointed for the ceremony. For ſome days every thing went off quietly; the prieſts were more at their eaſe, and leſs inſulted; but other projects were now on the carpet.

It was now the 17th of June, and a Sunday, a day on which they never failed to be ſummoned. The commandant of the national guard of Angers marches a detachment of his corps a few miles out of town, to the place where they perform the military exerciſe, and where he means to give them a feaſt. When heated with liquor they were ready for any miſchief; he opens the nature of the expedition he had planned, and returns at their head at the very moment when the prieſts were ſummoned to attend. They are ſeized as they advance, and dragged into the church of the Benedictins. Here the the jacobins had lately held their club, and here the prieſts are now impriſoned. Some leſs early in their attendance had heard of the fate of their companions, and yielded to the ſolicitation of the citizens to take refuge under their hoſpitable roofs. Theſe were ſoon ſearched, in virtue of a warrant from the commanding officer. Before ſunſet moſt of the unhappy victims were ſeized and confined in the church, but were ſoon removed to the little ſeminary. Beds, mattreſſes, and proviſions were ſoon provided by the benevolent citizens. The beds and mattreſſes are thrown careleſſly into the court,

court, and there remained for two whole days; the provisions are consumed by the hungry and unfeeling guards.

During two days and two nights, the three hundred priests, of all ages and all descriptions, lay without beds on the floor, on the steps of the staircase, or in chambers totally unfurnished; nor were they suffered to receive any assistance. The national guard share alternately the care of the prisoners, and the of houses, where they hope to find other victims.

Ashamed of these scandalous and of a tyranny which authority might have nd to avoid the solicitations of the indignant c.. of the departimental magistrates had retired from ..eſs during these horrid scenes. They now appear on the bench, they hold a court, and sign a resolution that inconsistency, cruelty, and hypocrisy alone could dictate.

This extraordinary resolution first blamed the national guard for presuming to imprison three hundred priests without authority from them, and in violation of the laws; and then invites these same priests to remain peaceably in their confinement, which they denominate the common hall, where they will meet with protection; and then configns them to the same guards.

At the end of ten days, some faint traces of pity appear in favour of old age and infirmities; the great seminary is opened for their relief under the same guard. The national troops complained of the multiplication of sentinels, and the encreased hardships of the service. The three hundred priests, and some newly discovered victims, are hurried from prison to prison, and at length confined in the same seminary with the aged and the sick. The court, the

the garden, and the galleries are occupied by the military; two or three prieſts are ſqueezed into a narrow cell.

They had obtained with much difficulty, and after many delays, leave to receive or purchaſe proviſions. All was rigorouſly inſpected, and part applied to other uſes. In proportion as the charity of the citizens of Angers exerted itſelf to grant penſions to thoſe who had nothing, to raiſe conſiderable contributions, and to feed them from their own tables, the rapine and ferocity of theſe harpies, clothed in military uniform, diſhonoured the character of a nation once equally famed for proweſs and humanity.

A raſcally jailor, cruel and avaricious, began to ſpeculate on the ſubſiſtence of his priſoners. He obtained an order that they eat in a common hall, and pay thirty pence a-day per head. Their repaſt was equally nauſeous from filth, and ſcanty from avarice. Whatever was brought for their uſe, was now either retained or purloined. The jailors and the ſoldiers ſeemed to vie with each other for the honour of giving the moſt uneaſineſs to their priſoners. The windows which looked into the ſtreets were ſecured with iron-plates. The want of air ſoon occaſioned a contagious fever; and a declaration of the phyſicians, who dreaded more ſerious conſequences, was neceſſary to remove the faſtenings.

One day they were permitted to walk in the garden, and the next they were forbid to enter it; or if they were found there, the muſket and the ſabre ſoon drove them out of it. One day they were ſuffered to ſay maſs, and the next it was a heinous crime to deſire to hear it. If they obtained leave to pray together, or to read their breviary in the chapel, theſe hell-hounds, irritated at the fervor of their piety, interrupted them by a burleſque repreſentation

preſentation of the ſacred myſteries, and mocked their devotion.

Few of their relations, few of the reputable inhabitants of Angers, could obtain acceſs to the prieſts; but free admittance was given to the women of the town, and public proſtitutes. Their licentious freedoms were equally offenſive to religion and good breeding. By a refinement on cruelty and deriſion, their repoſe was interrupted at night as much as in the open day. The national guards ſometimes amuſed themſelves with ſinging pſalms and hymns, ſometimes mimicked the proceſſions of the church, at others they filled the air with the accents of intoxication, indecency, and obſcenity. During the night time their chambers and their beds were viſited by four grenadiers with drawn ſabres.

This ſyſtematic ſeries of hardſhips was ſometimes aggravated by incidental circumſtances. One of the prieſts had inadvertently thrown the ſtone of a plumb againſt the uniform of one of the ſoldiers. He was puniſhed by impriſonment in a cellar for two days, without any other bed but a little ſtraw, any other nouriſhment but bread and water. If his brethren had not ſtrenuouſly interfered, his confinement would have been of much longer duration; three others for ſlighter offences were treated with the ſame rigour.

By an order from the municipality, the Abbé Cœur-de-Roi was charged with the care of the ſick. He was going for ſome broth for them, when he was ſtopped at the door of the kitchen by one of the guards; the oath was tendered to him, and he refuſed to take it; the kitchen door was ſhut upon him, and the ſick had no broth. Having ſome buſineſs with the porter he was more roughly handled, and received ſome hard blows.

The

The curate of Thuillé had a little ſoup before him, and one of the ſoldiers was pleaſed to ſpit into it. He ventured to repreſent the impropriety of ſuch behaviour, and received a thruſt of the bayonette. Luckily the curate turned the gun with his arm, and eſcaped unhurt; but was dragged before the commanding officer, and accuſed of an intent to diſarm the centinel. He was ſentenced to paſs three days on bread and water in a priſon which was called the Devil's Tower, and of all priſons was the moſt deſerving of that name. Others were longer confined there, eſpecially ſuch as were ſuſpected of a deſign to regain their liberty.

All this while the ſearch-warrants were iſſued and executed in the city and environs of Angers. If a houſe was ſuſpected of harbouring a prieſt, the guards ſearched every hole and corner; they thruſt their bayonets and their ſabres into the corn and hay, to diſpatch thoſe that might be concealed. Some were every day apprehended and led away in triumph.

Some exceptions had been made in favour of men worn down by age and diſeaſe. But pity could not long inhabit ſuch breaſts. Mr. Ganeau, a canon aged eighty, and Mr. Voiſin dean of the collegiate church, receive another viſit, and are dragged to the common priſon. Mr. Gilly, ſick and almoſt blind was unable to follow them: they threw him into a ſedan chair, placed a numerous guard around it and conducted him to jail. No mercy was ſhewn to the gout, palſy and falling ſickneſs. Mr. Charbonnier prior of Avillé, had two epileptic fits that very day on which he was apprehended, nevertheleſs he was hurried away to priſon. The urgent ſolicitations of his family at length prevailed to have him ſent to the hoſpital of incurables.

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The approach of death had no terrors for theſe ferocious ſavages. Such was the ſtate in which they found Mr. Foreterie, a canon of the cathedral, who had long ſuffered from a cancerous ulcer in his leg, which was now mortified; they put him into an arm chair and carried him to priſon. His ſervant followed bathed in tears, and only begged that he might be permitted to pay the laſt duties to his maſter; they tendered the oath to him, and he rejected the treacherous condition with ſcorn. The zeal of this faithful ſervant afforded ſome comfort to the agonizing prieſt, who now entered the priſon gates and expired.

While ſo many prieſts ſuffered under an iron rod at Angers, the department and the clubs were contriving other means to get rid of them. The jacobins renewed the motion for the tranſportation of the clergy. Deputations and addreſſes were ſent from all parts to ſecond the project of conveying them to Guyane, or at leaſt of baniſhing them out of the territories of France. Humanity indeed was introduced to act a ſubordinate part in the tragedy. The preamble of the decree ſet forth that the prieſts were in danger of periſhing with want in their priſons, or of being maſſacred by an enraged populace, and that it was expedient to provide by baniſhment for their perſonal ſafety, and the general intereſts of the empire.

The ſame meaſures were adopted wherever the jacobin party prevailed. The department of Mayenne iſſued an order to all nonjuring prieſts, to repair to Laval to give in their names and their abode, and not to exceed the diſtance of three miles from the town, under pain of being declared rebels to the law, and being ſent to jail. The clergy formed a numerous body in this department, and ſix hundred ſoon quitted their houſes and families to obey the law. Mr. de Herſé, biſhop of Dol, was with his brother in the country;

country: he was ſitting at table with his family, when they received the firſt intelligence of the order. His relations urge him to provide for his ſafety by flight. "God "forbid," ſays he, "that I ſhould loſe ſo fair an oppor- "tunity of confeſſing the name of Jeſus Chriſt; my ex- "ample may encourage the inferior clergy, and I ſhall be "happy to appear in irons at their head." Such were his ſentiments, and he loſt no time in carrying them into execution. He arrived at Laval with one of his brothers, his grand vicar and a crowd of eccleſiaſtics of all denominations, dignitaries of the church, and ſimple prieſts; for no diſtinction was now made between public functionaries and others. Not to have taken the oath was a general crime. Among them were many paſtors whom the revolution had reduced to indigence, and who had neither relations, nor friends, nor acquaintance in the town to which they were obliged to reſort. They applied to the department to know how they were to be ſupported. They were anſwered, that obedience to the law was all they had to think of. The piety, the generoſity of the citizens of Laval made ample amends for the barbarity of the adminiſtration. Surpaſſing even the benevolence of Angers, they invited the confeſſors to their houſes and their tables. Above three hundred of theſe prieſts were without reſource; they were relieved by charitable ſubſcriptions, and the voluntary contributions of the faithful. Providence watched over them, and its merciful views were well ſeconded by the inhabitants of Laval. A great majority of the French nation ſhared theſe generous ſentiments with the Lavaleſe. They wept over the violence offered to the old religion; they loved their clergy, and they wiſhed to imitate their example. I am ſenſible this aſſertion will appear paradoxical to ſuch of my readers, who conſider only the tame ſubmiſſion with which the French people beheld the church inſulted and its miniſters oppreſſed. But they ſhould reflect that obedience was the only

only leſſon they preached by word and example. They repreſented to the pitying and indignant multitude, that the primitive chriſtians uſed no other weapons, and diſcouraged the leſs temperate zeal of their followers. The Lavaleſe were in a condition to oppoſe reſiſtance to oppreſſion; the clergy preferred the glory of a religious reſignation to the tumult of arms. Their God commanded them to ſpill their blood for the faith, but to ſpare the lives of others. A prieſt ſhould know how to ſuffer, not to inflict death.

The ſame ſcene was acted at Laval as had paſſed at Angers. They were muſtered by a commiſſary, and their names were called over at the collegiate church. The biſhop of Dol made his daily appearance there at the head of ſix hundred prieſts. He was called upon as the others were, without any diſtinction, without any of thoſe terms of politeneſs, which are in uſe among civilized nations. He was expoſed as the others were to the inclemency of the weather, while froſt or rain only protracted the ceremony. He was the object of the moſt inſulting railleries of a horrid mob. He was conſidered and reſpected by the prieſts as their father. The moment he appeared, two hundred of them went out to meet him, or to attend him to the office. When the commiſſary, without ceremony and without good breeding, cried out, *Herſé*, the prelate meekly anſwered, HERE. This one word carried rage and confuſion to the boſom of the jacobins, and their uſurping adherents. Addreſſed to the magiſtrate, it imported "Here I am, and you may go and call for the "executioner, I fear neither him nor thee. I perſiſt in "refuſing to incur the guilt of perjury and apoſtacy by "taking the oath. I am here ready to bear the ill-humour "of thee and thine, to die for my faith and for my God "as I told thee yeſterday. I am here again to-day, and "will be here to-morrow to repeat it to thee." Theſe words

words had a wonderful effect on the ſurrounding clergy; they repeated them with firmneſs and joy in imitation of their worthy prelate. Thus the call inſtituted for the humiliation of the prieſthood, became the daily triumph of religion.

The jacobins and the apoſtate clergy felt all the impreſſion of this effuſion of zeal, and of the aſſiduity with which they ſought an opportunity to renew it. They envied the honor thus acquired, and reſolved to diminiſh it. Their emiſſaries attended at the hour of the call to load the prieſts with injuries. The principal attack was directed againſt the biſhop of Dol. The croſs which he wore on his breaſt filled them with infernal rage; a female fury one day made an attempt to ſnatch it from him. On this occaſion alone the prieſts oppoſed reſiſtance to violence. A numerous body of citizens, who attended with very different ſentiments, made an offer of their ſervices to the biſhop and the prieſts, to reſcue them from oppreſſion and inſult. "No," ſaid they, "ſuffer them to go on; they know not the pleaſure they give us by enhancing the merit of our confeſſion." They were not inſenſible to a calumny of another kind. They heard a voice from amidſt the crowd, crying out, that they had arms concealed under their caſſocks. This rouſed their indignation, they preſſed forward, they opened their breaſts, turned out their pockets, and urged their accuſers to prove the aſſertion. But theſe had the caution to prevent the ſhame of detection by declining the challenge.

While the biſhop of Dol and his faithful aſſociates thus vigorouſly ſupported the intereſts of religion, a biſhop and a clergy of a different deſcription, were taking meaſures to eſtabliſh the new church. The conſtituent aſſembly had been pleaſed in the plenitude of their power, to erect a new See at Laval. Mr. de Veauxpont, vicar-general

general of Dol, was confined with his biſhop. On him the firſt election fell, but he refuſed a biſhopric, which owed its creation and its ſpiritual juriſdiction to an aſſembly of laymen. The man who might have been the firſt biſhop of Laval, was now a priſoner in that town. Mr. Villard preferred to this honor the emoluments of the place. He found a body of clergy worthy of their biſhop. Among his prieſts, grand vicars, and official deputies, was one young fellow, who had been rejected when applying to his lawful biſhop for ordination, on account of his ignorance of the firſt elements of religion. Another had been taken in the act of ſtealing ſnuff-boxes and buckles. A third was one Laban, who preſided at the jacobin club. A fourth of the name of Rabba, preached from the pulpit and publiſhed in his journal, that the non-juring prieſts were a dangerous ſet of men, and that all kings were tyrants.

The conduct of all theſe prieſts was calculated to gain proſelytes to their ſociety. They were ſenſible of the diſadvantage of ſo ſtriking a contraſt, and ſpared no pains to give another turn to the minds of the inhabitants, and oblige them to acknowledge the new church. A popular commotion was ſoon raiſed and directed againſt the nuns, who had given the ſtrongeſt proofs of their attachment to the old faith. At five o'clock in the morning four hundred banditti attacked the convent of the Urſulines, forced the gates, held their drawn ſabres over the heads of the ſuperior and her nuns, purſued them into the choir, and drove them from their habitation. It was nine o'clock when Villard and the municipal officers arrived at the convent of the Benedictine nuns, to which they had fled. Villard advances and aſſures theſe pious women, that if they will only acknowledge him, they may depend on his protection. As he ſpoke the nuns all ran away. The ſuperior alone waited

to

to addreſs him in theſe words: "Sir, we know that you are the author of all our ſufferings. You may "continue to perſecute us, but be aſſured that neither "I nor my ſiſters will ever quit the old for the new "church. We ſhall always conſider you as an uſurp-"ing, ſchiſmatical, heretical biſhop. God and our con-"ſciences enable us to ſet you at defiance." She then turned her back on him and his company. But his habitual hypocriſy did not deſert him. Turning to Bri, an ale-houſe keeper, and his companions, who were the ringleaders of the gang: "It is a ſhame," ſaid he, "thus to torment theſe people on account of their reli-"gion and conſcience." "O the raſcal," cried out the captain and his gang, "O the raſcal, he was the very "man that adviſed and paid us for what we have done."

Such were the miniſters of the new church. The emiſſaries of the jacobin party could bear no other character. The club and the municipality grew tired of the daily citation of the prieſts, and their impriſonment might promote their ſecret projects. It was therefore decreed.

On the 20th of June, without any previous intimation, the drums beat to arms, and a proclamation was read, enjoining all the prieſts to repair to the late convents of the Capuchins and the Carmes. The order gave great offence to the inhabitants. A great number of them, and among the reſt the relations of the priſoners, prepared to reſiſt them. But here again their prayers and earneſt ſolicitations triumphed over the public indignation. The biſhop of Dol retired without loſs of time to the Capuchins, and the others repaired to the two houſes aſſigned for their priſons. Avarice had effectually ſtript them both: not a ſingle article of furniture remained, not a chair, nor a truſs of ſtraw on which to

repoſe their weary heads. The humanity and benevolence of the affluent citizens provided for all their wants. At eight o'clock ſix hundred beds were put up, and a ſufficient number of chairs and tables in every part of the houſe. It was neceſſary to contract their quarters, two beds were ſqueezed into ſmall cells, and they filled the galleries, the public rooms and the church. The preparations were as much advanced as if they had been a whole month in making them. The biſhop of Dol and his companions confined to the ſame cell, taſted a joy which neither the epiſcopal palace, nor all the luxuries of life, could afford.

Adminiſtration left them to provide for themſelves; ſome had little money, and others had none. The Levaleſe moved with compaſſion for their diſtreſſed ſituation, ſent the diſhes they hitherto ſhared with them to their tables. While theſe were buſily employed in works of mercy, the municipal officers and the jacobins were not idle. They were happy in an opportunity to aggravate the ſufferings of theſe unfortunate men. New regulations of police were daily iſſued, and the inhumanity of a miſguided populace added to their ſeverity. Thoſe who ſlept in the church were every night diſturbed by the diſcordant notes of obſcene ballads. In the galleries the common proſtitutes were gallanted by the guards, and thoſe infamous wretches amuſed themſelves with inſulting or calumniating the prieſts. In every perſecution of the church it was obſerved, that the impure ſpirit always acted in conjunction with the demon of impiety, in attacking or tormenting the prieſts and the virgins of Jeſus Chriſt, to be revenged at once of the purity of their doctrine, or the ſublimity of their vows.

When the jacobins formed a majority of the guards, their favourite diverſion was ſuddenly to awaken the prieſts,

prieſts, and threaten them with violent death. In this attitude they would ſay to one; "No, thou art not fat "enough yet; we will let thee live a few days longer, "that thy body may afford a better meal." To another, "No, the guillotine will fit thy head better." At other times they would condemn them to faſt, by preventing the entrance of proviſions, or appropriating them to their own uſe.

Among the prieſts was a Mr. Beucher, who had been married before he took orders. Miſs Beucher, his daughter, came regularly once a day with proviſions for her father. One day, as ſhe preſented herſelf to diſcharge this filial duty, the guards took it into their heads to ſtop her. She begs, ſhe intreats that ſhe may be permitted to ſee her father, and provide for his ſubſiſtence. They preſent their bayonets, and threaten her with death if ſhe does not immediately retire. "You may kill me, "ye ferocious tigers; but I will not ſtir till I have ſeen "my father, and carried him his dinner. What! ye "deteſtable monſters, are not criminals fed in their dun-"geons? they are permitted to ſee their friends, and "will you not ſuffer me to aſſiſt my father? Strike, "monſters, ſtrike; on this ſpot will I die, or I will "ſee and feed my father." The cries of this dutiful child, and the boiſterous contention of the guards, draws many of the prieſts, and amongſt the reſt Mr Beucher, to the ſpot; he diſtinguiſhes the voice of his child, and preſſes forward. She ſees him, and flies through a double row of bayonets into his arms, and clinging to his boſom, cries out, "O my father! my father!" The tigers purſue and attempt in vain to force her from his arms. At this moment a number of citizens appear, and all their rhetoric, all the expreſſions of horror and indignation are neceſſary, to prevent the father and the daughter from being accuſed and puniſhed for having forced the guard.

As ſoon as the news of the reſolution, which ordered all the nonjuring prieſts to be impriſoned at Laval, reached Chammes, the inhabitants thought it their duty to enter a proteſt againſt ſo arbitrary a proceeding. From the commencement of the revolution, this pariſh had manifeſted a marked averſion to the ſchiſm. They had not acknowledged Vallee, an apoſtate Bernardin monk, for their curate; they threatened to call him to account for a theft of 30,000 livres. He choſe to retire and leave the old paſtor in poſſeſſion. But he did not hold it long without diſturbance. An aſſemblage of 400 lawleſs ruffians advance to attack him. The inhabitants of Chammes being joined by ſome other pariſhes, take up arms to oppoſe them, and then preſent a conſtitutional petition to the diſtrict of Evron, on the liberty of religious worſhip. The curate is ſaved by the vigorous exertions of the inhabitants: but the pariſh is expoſed to a thouſand horrors and vexations. Twelve citizens, loaded firſt with blows, and then with irons, are hurried before the diſtrict. No crime being proved againſt them, they are dragged from priſon to priſon. They inſiſt upon their taking the oath. An officer holding his ſabre over the neck of one of theſe men, declares, he will cut off his head if he does not ſwear. He is anſwered in theſe words, "I am a catholic, and all thy threats ſhall not "make an apoſtate of me." After paſſing through ſeveral tribunals they are at length brought to Laval. Here an offer is made of their liberty if they will turn evidence againſt the curate. Liberty muſt be ſweet to men who have paſſed two months in confinement, but they choſe to lie four months more in jail, declaring, that the inſtructions and example of the curate had ever afforded them the moſt ſolid comfort and edification. The edge of the law is now turned againſt the curate himſelf. Though he was abſent, the only crime they could alledge againſt him was, having taken the oath under limitations and reſtrictions which ſecured his faith. For this offence

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he and his vicar are condemned to ſtand in the ſtocks for four hours. His pariſhioners had lately ſaved him from the tribunal of the diſtrict, and they now ſave him from that of Laval.

The department of Finiſterre, which forms a part of Britanny, had not waited for the example of Angers and Laval, to renew their attack upon the clergy. On the 30th of November, an order had been iſſued for apprehending and conducting to Breſt all the nonjuring prieſts, as perſons ſuſpected of treaſon. Thoſe whom the general amneſty had liberated two months before, were expreſly named. The diſtricts were ſhocked at ſo audacious an infraction of the law, which even ſuppoſing them guilty, never tried men twice for the ſame offence; but not a ſingle diſtrict ſhewed the leaſt oppoſition or reſiſtance to the decree. A moſt rigorous ſearch was immediately commenced, and a ferocious band of the ſcum of the earth, and of ſlaves juſt freed from the gallies, were ſoon entertained with the ſpectacle of prieſts ſurrounded by national guards, and were with difficulty reſtrained from tearing them to pieces, or hanging them at the lamp-irons. The convent of the Carmes had on a former occaſion been the priſon of ſeventy prieſts. A greater number was now confined in the caſtle of Breſt. In the hoſpital of this fortreſs, the filthieſt ward, to which was communicated by the deſcending tubes, the poiſonous exhalations of diſeaſe and corruption, from which was heard a converſation ſtill more offenſive than the wounds of theſe victims of impurity, into which were conveyed by the ſame pipes, the clamors and the blaſphemies of a populace brutal in its pleaſures, brutal in its impiety, and ſtill brutal under the ſmart of ulcers, the conſequences of both; the ward over that of the venereal patients was choſen for the abode of the new priſoners. Eighty prieſts were there confined, and were furniſhed with ſhort narrow beds. Here they paſſed the ſummer and the winter

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with caſements open both day and night. Their food was furniſhed by contract, and ingenious avarice contrived to allow them enough to keep them alive, but not enough to ſatisfy their hunger. On days of abſtinence, they were not ſuffered to enjoy the comfort of obſerving the pious cuſtom of the Church. During four whole months they were deprived of the holy ſacrifice. The ſick, and they were not few, were locked in an infirmary equally filthy, inconvenient and unwholeſome with the ward which they had quitted. However only one here conſummated his ſacrifice by death. Others contracted chronical diſorders or loſt their ſight. They were never ſuffered to go out, to take the air, or to receive the viſits of their friends. One of the judges of the ſuperior tribunal had preſented a petition to the king for the liberty of one of thoſe prieſts who was his ſon. The petition was granted, an order was given, was repeated, but never executed.

The unwearied patience, the reſignation of the confeſſors at length ſoftened the obdurate hearts of the vicious tribe below. They had been treated with moſt indecent language conveyed through the opening of a floor which ſeparated them from the venereal patients. Thoſe grew weary of inſulting ſuch heroic patience and unaffected piety. They write to the confeſſors to implore their pardon and beg their prayers. They were anſwered by exhortations to atone for their paſt ſins, to avoid eternal puniſhment by ſupporting with patience the evils of this life. The anſwer was accompanied with the money and every other convenience which they could ſpare from their own neceſſities.

The diſtricts of Lille and Villaine were unwilling to be behind-hand with the other departments in the perſecution of the catholic clergy. They flattered themſelves, that they had diſcovered a ſurer method to convict them of diſloyalty. At Eaſter they ſummoned all the nonjuring prieſts

prieſts to appear before their reſpective municipalities, and to ſwear that they would never preach, directly or indirectly, againſt the civil conſtitution of the clergy; and that they would neither by diſcourſe or by writing diſcourage the faithful from attending the conſtitutional ſervice. Whoever refuſed to take this oath, muſt repair to Rennes the capital city of the department, and there deliver in to the municipal officers their name, ſirname and place of abode. Prieſts appointed to preach the goſpel, ſhepherds bound to ſecure their flocks from the paths of hereſy and ſchiſm, do not eaſily ſwear to let them ſtray without warning them againſt the dangers of error. There may be circumſtances in which a prudent ſilence may be their duty; but no combination of circumſtances can poſſibly exiſt, where a miniſter of the goſpel may be aſhamed of Jeſus Chriſt, and promiſe that he will no longer endeavour to make him known; nor can any conſideration authorize a chriſtian to ſwear, that he will neither by words, writing or example, labour to prevent the eternal loſs of his neighbour's ſoul. Men who had refuſed to take the oath of the aſſembly, were not likely to adopt that of the department. They thought it a ſtrange conſtitution that allowed to every man an unreſtrained liberty to talk, write and publiſh his opinions, even on religious ſubjects, and at the ſame time forbid them to communicate their religious faith. They choſe to repair to Rennes, to appear at the daily call of their names. In every ſtreet they found commiſſioners appointed to watch over them and to ſearch their lodgings. All this ſeverity gained not a ſingle proſelyte to the cauſe. The example of the clergy encouraged the zeal of the catholic laity. Some of the nonjuring prieſts were permitted to ſay Maſs in a church ſtill left open, and the people of the town and country flocked in crowds to hear it; their fervent piety was equal to the eagerneſs they ſhewed to aſſiſt. The conſtitutionaliſts could not ſee themſelves deſerted with indifference. The jacobin club

club eſpouſed their intereſts, and moved that all the non-juring prieſts ſhould be confined as they had been at Breſt, Laval and Angers. The department, affecting ſome degree of toleration, iſſued the following order.

" If any number of refractory prieſts, exceeding three, " ſhall aſſemble in the ſtreets or houſes, they ſhall be ſent " to priſon. All eccleſiaſtics ſhall preſent themſelves " twice every day at the town-houſe, in the morning to " give in their name, and in the evening to anſwer to it. " The commiſſioners ſhall make domiciliary viſits to " take the names of the ſick and lame."

This order was punctually executed; not a murmur was heard: the prieſts never diſcontinued their appearance.

Where the jacobins had not intereſt enough to extort theſe ſanguinary laws, they took care to make themſelves amends by perſonal vexations, which were generally ſeconded by municipal rage, notwithſtanding the profound peace and tranquillity which every where prevailed among the profeſſors of the old religion.

At Viens in Provence, a congregation of the faithful were devoutly aſſiſting at the maſs of the old curate; the bleſſed ſacrament was expoſed; and in ſilence and profound recollection theſe pious people were pouring out their ſouls to God. On a ſudden, the mayor and ſolicitor-general, in their official robes, and attended by a file of muſqueteers, enter the place. The mayor advances to the altar, and, without reſpect to the ſacred myſteries, tells the curate, that public meetings are forbidden by the law, and commands him and the congregation inſtantly to quit the place. The chapel is immediately filled with the cries and lamentations of the women and children. The curate, turning to the mayor, anſwers, " Yes, Sir, the ſeditious meetings of

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" armed men are fordidden by the law; but the religious " meetings of the faithful, to pay their homage to God, " are not forbidden. On the contrary, the liberty of re- " ligious worſhip is a fundamental law of the conſtitution. " I beg, at leaſt, that you will ſuffer the people to hear " the end of the maſs." The mayor perſiſts in requiring that they all inſtantly depart. One of his armed ruffians utters the moſt horrid blaſphemies againſt the moſt holy; another threatens, that he will throw the ſtatue of the virgin out of the window, while a third aſks if it be time to fire. The curate, addreſſing himſelf to the congregation; " Your further attendance is diſpenſed with; God " accepts of your good will: go home, but in a ſpirit of " peace, of patience and ſubmiſſion to the laws, without " ſaying or doing any thing that may occaſion the leaſt " diſorder." At that inſtant the flock, docile to the voice of the ſhepherd, depart, without ſhewing the leaſt expreſſion of reſentment. To ſcreen the curate from the imputation of a ſeditious deſign, it was neceſſary to enter a formal depoſition of what had happened.

The municipal officers and the jacobins had conceived ſo rooted a hatred for the catholic worſhip, that in ſome places they choſe to oblige the people to refrain from all religious exerciſes, rather than permit them to attend thoſe of their true paſtors. The judges of Tarbes ſentenced a curate of their diſtrict to two months impriſonment and a fine of a hundred livres, for having ſaid Maſs and exerciſed his functions on the ſolemn Thurſday in Holy Week, when a man of their ſect could not be found to replace him.

They carried their deſtructive ravages into our moſt celebrated temples. That of Notre Dame du Puy was abandoned to the mercileſs rage of a band of ruffians, who after pillaging its treaſure, breaking the croſs, and diſ-

figuring the images of ſaints, ſet fire to it, and with lighted flambeaux in their hands, blaſpheming, ſinging and dancing round the flames, ſaw it reduced to a heap of aſhes.

A repetition of theſe abominations in ſeveral towns, and the certain indications of a deſign to deſtroy religion, alarmed many of the conforming clergy. During the fire of perſecution, ſeveral of them retracted their oath, and even among thoſe whoſe fall was marked with the moſt aggravating circumſtances, among thoſe whoſe ambition had ſeized the mitre, the ſting of conſcience was felt.

Charrier of Lyons was the only biſhop that vacated his ſee. It was expected that he would retract his oath. But he was rich, and attached to his riches: he repeated it. His principles had been ſuſpected long before the revolution, and he perſiſted in his hereſies. He had been ill received at Rouen, where the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault was loved and reſpected. Shame drove him from his poſt, but it did not change his heart.

At this moment, I do not think myſelf at liberty to name thoſe on whom remorſe made the moſt forcible impreſſion. The fear of the mob prevailed. I could not record their names without expoſing them to certain death, and I wiſh not the death of a ſinner; 'let them live and be converted. May the Holy Ghoſt grant them grace to extricate themſelves from the abyſs into which they have plunged, and to publiſh to the world what they have not been aſhamed to confeſs in private to a friend. In vain would they confine the fatal ſcarch to their own breaſts, a day will come when God himſelf ſhall reveal it. I will ſay no more of it, than what the public have a right to know for the intereſts of truth and the honour of religion, without betraying their daſtardly heads. They ſhould

ſhould be the foremoſt to proclaim aloud that homage which their hearts pay to truth. For the proofs of what I ſhall ſay, I appeal to the papers now at Rome; they are there kept ſecret from a motive of charity and humanity. The Pope ſeeks not revenge, or he might eaſily obtain it, by thus addreſſing the deluded French; "You know "what the intruding biſhops have ſaid to you; obſerve "what they ſay to me by the mouth of their moſt intimate "confidants." This ſecret once revealed would coſt the lives of men who have occaſioned the deepeſt affliction to the Pope. He has prayed and will continue to pray for them. The ſaints ſeek no other revenge.

In the year of which I am writing the hiſtory, there were ſix uſurping biſhops in France. So thoroughly were they convinced of the crime they had committed by embracing the conſtitutional religion, that they waited only for a favourable moment to make their eſcape, and retract their oath without expoſing their lives. They all acknowledge, that impiety itſelf had preſided at the revolution, and that a deſign was formed to ſubvert religion. All they ſaw and all they heard gave them the deepeſt concern. They held in the utmoſt contempt the conforming prieſts with whom they were ſurrounded. They were ſhocked at the vices, the ignorance, the depravity of the conſtitutional clergy. They ſaid, "It is by us, and by the oath we have taken "that the church of France has been ruined; the non-"juring prieſts driven from their native land for their con-"ſtancy in refuſing to take this fatal oath, ſhall one day "reſtore it. Thus they ſpoke, and they ſought the means of a reconciliation with the Pope; they had already written to Rome, and they had received the moſt favourable anſwers. The Pope was ſenſible of the dangers to which theſe unhappy men were expoſed; he was willing to ſhew them every poſſible indulgence; but a public apoſtacy can only be repaired by a public retractation. The Pope conſented to every neceſſary precaution, he only

only exhorted them not to be guided by human motives, but to prefer the ſalvation of their ſouls to every other conſideration. Theſe ſentiments of his Holineſs were conveyed by one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed cardinals of the Roman church, to whom all the documents relative to the affair were addreſſed. Such was the ſtate of the negotiation when the unfortunate ſchiſmatics ſighed for the happy moment when they ſhould be at liberty to retract the oath, and quit the new church. Unfortunately a moment of unceaſing perſecution intervened. There are moments when a man muſt know how to die, and even to court death. They ſhrunk and they continue to ſhrink with coward hearts from it. Their diſſimulation muſt be a cruel torture. One moment of firmneſs and courage would have ſent them to heaven with our martyrs; whole years of remorſe muſt be an anticipation of the torments of hell.

It muſt not be expected that I ſhould enter into a detail of the proofs of this fact. The correſpondence has paſſed through my hands, I have read the letters. The ſpirit of revenge would have enjoyed the diſcovery of them to the revolutionary magiſtrates; the ſecret of the intruders would have been betrayed, and nothing could have ſaved their lives. It belongs to God to avenge the errors of his creatures. I committed to the devouring flames whatever could affect their perſons. Other monuments of this correſpondence ſtill ſubſiſt. Nothing more need be ſaid to convince the world of the remorſe, the promiſes, and the cowardice of theſe unhappy men.

I may ſpeak with more freedom of the firſt intruded curate of St. Sulpice at Paris. His name was Poiret, and he was the ſuperior of the prieſts of the oratoire. He would for ever have diſhonoured his congregation, he would have juſtified all the reproaches urged againſt them, had

had his project ſucceeded. He had hoped to find among his own brethren a ſufficient number of conforming prieſts to ſerve the principal churches, and eſpecially to fill up all the vacancies in that which he had undertaken to govern. In this hope he was diſappointed. The oratorians had three houſes in Paris; he found only three who would take the oath and diſhonour themſelves as he had done. The others ſeeing him open his church to the infamous biſhop of Autun for the conſecration of new biſhops, entered a proteſt againſt this proceeding, and ſent a deputation to the grand vicars to aſſure them that they beheld with execration the ſacrilegious uſe made of their church. To prove the ſincerity of their abhorrence of ſchiſm, they abſented themſelves from their houſe on the day that it was contaminated by the preſence of d'Autun and his odious conſecration.

The ſuperiors of the Oratoire addreſſed a letter to the Pope, ſigned by all the members then at Paris, to the number of about fifty, proteſting afreſh againſt the ſacrilegious conſecrations conferred in their church, reprobating in the ſtrongeſt terms the perjury of Poiret, the civil conſtitution of the clergy, expreſſing their firm adherence to the principles and the conduct of his Holineſs and of the biſhops during the whole courſe of the revolution. The ſame fathers of the oratoire, to repair the ſcandal of the conſtitutional ordinations, in defiance of the tumultuous guards placed in their court, had their church which had been profaned by Taillerand of Autun, purified from this ſtain, and ſanctified afreſh by the lawful curate and the faithful clergy of the pariſh of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where they had taken refuge. At Limoges, at Autun, at Toulouſe, at Mans, the oratorians had the honour to merit, and to ſuffer vexation, impriſonment, and tranſportation with the other Catholic prieſts. At Châlons ſur Saône, father Latour, ſuperior of their ſeminary, was entruſted by Mr. du Chilleau, the biſhop of

of the place, with the diſtribution of the money he had collected for the relief of the prieſts whom perſecution had already driven into foreign countries. The zeal which recommended him to this honourable commiſſion, expoſed him to all the calumnies, all the vexatious ſuits, which had been inſtituted againſt many others. His papers were ſearched for proofs of a conſpiracy, and they eſtabliſhed his piety and his charity. He was arreſted, and underwent all the rigour of a two months impriſonment.

If Poiret ſeduced a few of his brethren into perjury and apoſtaſy, he could not withhold his admiration from the ſteady conduct of an order of men who had given Mallebranche to the ſciences, and Maſillon to the church. His conſcience grew troubleſome to him, and he entertained ſerious thoughts of retracting; he felt all the guilt of a ſcandalous abuſe of ſcripture, when he addreſſed the electors of Paris in theſe words of the prophet, *Behold me, ſend me*, as if laymen could give a ſpiritual miſſion. Tortured by remorſe, he was deſirous to abandon the ſchiſm; the unhappy man would and he would not; death ſurpriſed him, and after the intruſion of one year he carried to the grave his ſhame, his remorſe, and his perjury.

While the agonizing prieſt was on the point of appearing before his Creator and his Judge, the ſchiſmatical biſhop of Bourges roſe in his place in the national aſſembly to conſummate his apoſtaſy. Aſhamed of the caſſock, which inceſſantly reminds eccleſiaſtics of their vocation and their duties, Tornè had choſen Good-Friday, the day on which the executioners of Jeſus Chriſt had torn from him his ſeamleſs robe, and ſtript him of his garments, to wreſt from all prieſts, all monks and nuns, their reſpective habits. Tornè moved that all eccleſiaſtical and religious coſtume ſhould be aboliſhed in France. The motion was received with applauſe and decreed.

Here

Here was a wide field opened to the eloquence of Fauchet, the trumpeter of liberty. He might inſiſt that it appeared ſtrange, that the dreſs of a prieſt ſhould be imputed to him as a crime in this reign of liberty. He gave a ſilent vote, and concealed his epiſcopal decorations. The conſtitutional biſhop of Limoges acted more conſiſtently. He roſe from his ſeat, took the croſs from his breaſt, and laid it on the table. It was ſtill pretended that no innovation had been introduced into the religious eſtabliſhment of the ſtate, and yet the miniſters of religion would have incurred the penalties of high treaſon, by appearing in their proper dreſs, if the king had ſanctioned the decree. They were well acquainted with his averſion to every meaſure which tended to add to the outrages offered to religion. He refuſed his ſanction, and thus afforded a freſh opportunity of declaiming againſt the royal veto.

On the ſame day, the ſame ſpeaker, who had been educated in a ſecular congregation by the doctrinarians, moved the immediate abolition of all the ſecular congregations of teachers, miſſionaries, hoſpital ſiſters, and all others whatever.

Among theſe congregations the jacobin party bore a particular hatred to the Lazariſts and the Sulpiciens, who had already been ſuppreſſed: to the former, becauſe in the metropolis itſelf, they had dared to oppoſe the oath; to the latter, becauſe not one among them had been found weak enough, or wicked enough, to take it. The other public eſtabliſhments had already loſt their moſt diſtinguiſhed members, becauſe neither the clergy nor the laity could be induced to take the oath tendered to them.

The univerſities were abandoned. That of Caen ſet the example of deſertion. Forty profeſſors of the different

ferent arts and ſciences, clergy and laymen, had publiſhed their profeſſion of faith, and their poſitive refuſal to take the oath: that of Aix followed, and the Sorbonne had expreſſed their ſentiments in a letter of adherence to their venerable biſhop. Apoſtates took poſſeſſion of the ſchools; but the plan of public education had not yet been made ſufficiently deſtructive of religion and morality. It was thought neceſſary to lay the axe to the roots of the tree of all chriſtian inſtitution. On this ground reſted all the petitions againſt theſe congregations, and they were decreed. The refuſal of the royal ſanction brought little advantage to education. The oath was more cloſely preſſed on the conſciences of the teachers. Even thoſe who gave a gratuitous education to the children of the poor, and among the reſt the valuable congregation of the brethren of the chriſtian doctrine, found it impoſſible to continue their labours. They taught the duties of chriſtianity; they practiſed them, and their ſervices entitled them to the gratitude of their countrymen: their ſervices were reprobated. The ſiſters whoſe vocation it was to teach the girls their duties, and different ſorts of work, ſhared the ſame fate. The time was now come when the approved plan of education ſhould baniſh from the ſchools the name of God and his laws. The author of a ſyſtem of public inſtruction preſented to the aſſembly, thought he had been liberal in his conceſſions to heaven, by granting his pupils to receive once in every week ſome inſtructions from a miniſter of religion. This clauſe met with violent oppoſition, and was one of the reaſons for which the project was negatived. They objected to this expenſe, and to the danger of it.

The daring impiety of the legiſlators had riſen to ſuch a pitch, that the moſt abandoned apoſtates were heard with the greateſt attention. Alexander Moy was a monſter of this claſs. He had conformed, and obtained the curacy

curacy of St. Lawrence at Paris. This man had not been aſhamed to ſet his name to a work filled with inſipid raillery and ſenſeleſs buffoonery againſt the catholic worſhip, at a time when he was performing its moſt awful functions. Under the title of "Agreements of "religion and its worſhip in a free nation," he ſcouted his own, as ſuperſtitious, gothic and barbarous. He ſubſtituted another, diſgraced by levities and indecencies, even in the funeral ceremonies. Theſe were converted by Moy into profane ſpectacles and feaſts of Syberites. The moſt ſacred myſteries were treated with the groſſeſt ridicule.

To be witty on religious ſubjects, requires neither abilities nor application. Ignorance and impiety will find and improve the jeſt. However Moy was thought too ſtupid to write this book; certain it is, that he was ſtupid enough to adopt it. This had like to have coſt him very dear. His pariſhioners, ſhocked at his impiety, aſſembled tumultuouſly, and threatened to ſeize him. He was rewarded by the jacobins with a ſeat among the legiſlators. His firſt ſpeech was on the ſubject of religion, and he inſiſted that it ſhould neither be catholic nor conſtitutional; that the miniſters of neither ſhould be paid; but that ſpectacles and feaſts, which he termed patriotic, ſhould be ſubſtituted in lieu of every other worſhip. He thus got rid of his oath and of his apoſtate brethren. They all oppoſed the motion. The jacobins ſtill needed the aſſiſtance of the conforming clergy; they made themſelves amends for this toleration, by an increaſing fury againſt the non-juring prieſts.

No day now paſſed, the aſſembly never met but their bar was crouded with deputations inſtructed by the jacobins, to denounce the non-juring clergy of ſome freſh conſpiracy. Tired, or pretending be tired, of theſe repeated

repeated denunciations, and of the pretended diſturbances raiſed by the prieſts, and the great plot againſt the clergy and king, being nearly brought to maturity, the aſſembly ordered a freſh report to be made on the internal commotions. Français of Nantes was appointed to make it, and in calumnious invective and daring impiety, he ſurpaſſed François de Neuf-Chateau.

In revealed religion he found nothing but ambition, impoſture, and a world deluged with human blood, in ſupport of ſuperſtition. But the ſhafts of his keeneſt invective were directed againſt the catholic religion and the Pope. It was in vain that Pius VI. in his brief on the civil conſtitution of the clergy, had thus explained himſelf: "It is not my intention to attack the civil laws "which the king may have ſanctioned; in them the "temporal power alone is concerned; nor am I ambitious to reſtore the ancient civil government, as calumny "has aſſerted, in order to render religion odious." (Brief, 10th March, 1791.) It was a crime in the Pope to write to Frenchmen on the ſubject of a religion, of which he is the head. The ſpeaker, unmindful of common decency, cried out, "What has the biſhop of Rome to do with us? Why does he interfere in our concerns, while we are totally indifferent to his?" It was a crime in the non-juring clergy to acknowledge in the Pope an adopted brother as the conſtitutionaliſts did, but in religious matters a real ſuperior. His envenomed hatred carried him ſo far, that he compared all the non-juring prieſts to "a "legion of malignant genii, who inviſibly agitated, tormented the nation, and poured poiſon into families ". . . to a ſcourge which muſt be removed from the "country . . . to a faction grown ſo powerful, that it "muſt either cruſh the ſtate, or be cruſhed by it." Educated in the principles of Geneva, he could not conceal his hatred for the ſacraments, and particularly for that of penance; and his invective convinced the non-

juring

juring prieſts that they were perſecuted for their religion. Unable to reſtrain his indignation againſt catholicity, he cried out, "What a ſect is this, which by principle "damns all thoſe who do not think alike!" As well might he have ſaid to the conſtitutional multitude, How can you think that theſe non-juring prieſts are friends to the nation, that they have your intereſt at heart, ſince they conſider you not only as ſo many ſchiſmatics and heretics, but as ſo many damned ſouls and incarnate devils! The imputation could not fail to make an impreſſion on the minds of the people. Philoſophy has made ſuch uſe of this envenomed dart, and the anſwer has been ſo deciſive, ſo unanſwerable by the conſtitutionaliſts, that it deſerves a place here.

It applies directly to the French nation, and marks the character of their deſertion. "You do not bluſh to "applaud thoſe invectives againſt your paſtors. You "are then reduced with the abettors of your cauſe, with "empty ſophiſts, a Voltaire and a Rouſſeau, to the ne-"ceſſity of calumniating the catholic religion, which you "lately profeſſed in common with us, and which you "pretend you have not yet deſerted. You have recourſe "to the ſame inſidious arts, you employ the ſame ſtra-"tagems to caſt an odium on your paſtors. What a "fatal deluſion! Have you forgotten the inſtructions "and explanations they gave you? Or frightened at the "ſeverity of the goſpel, have you eraſed from your me-"mory thoſe words which once gave you comfort, but "now ſink you into deſpair? *He who ſhall believe and "ſhall be baptized, ſhall be ſaved; he who ſhall not believe, "ſhall be condemned; without faith it is impoſſible to "pleaſe God; let him who will not hear the church, be to "you as a heathen and a publican.* Do you reflect that "the mercenary ſhepherd can never lead you into the "paths of the church, can only ruin and murder you?

"Can

" Can nothing comfort, nothing encourage you in your " new faith, but a God at once the God of truth and " falſehood; a God who beholds with the ſame com- " placency the man who blaſphemes his myſteries, his " church, his doctrine, his ſaints, and the man who ſub- " jects his heart and his underſtanding to his doctrine " and his precepts! Muſt you have at once a true and " a falſe faith, and ſhall both be that faith without which " the goſpel aſſures us it is impoſſible to pleaſe God? " The ancient ſymbol fills your hearts with diſmay, and " you dare not pronounce with Athanaſius, *He that* " *would be ſaved muſt above all things believe the catholic* " *faith.*

" Your conſcience then tells you that you have quitted " a church, which, far from ſhrinking from theſe threats " againſt infidelity, hears, pronounces, and repeats them " with confidence; which, inſtead of wiſhing them con- " ſigned to oblivion, conſiders them as the oracles of a " God, calling all the children of men to her alone to " the end of the world. Return then into the boſom " of this catholic church, take up its ſymbol and its goſ- " pel, and the menaces, the curſes pronounced againſt " error, ſchiſm, infidelity and apoſtacy, will ceaſe to be " objects of terror and confuſion."

This reaſoning was concluſive againſt men, who two years before would not have reproached the church for conſidering herſelf as the ark of Noah, out of which none were ſaved. It proved beyond the poſſibility of a reply, that the conſtitutionaliſts found they were not in the bark of Jeſus Chriſt and St. Peter, becauſe they began to fear that out of it they ſhould not be ſaved.

The ſpeaker in his report, and the philoſophers in various publications, have imputed to the catholic religion opinions which a plain expoſition of her doctrine will refute.

refute. " You tremble at the ſeverity of our ſymbol, " but do not calumniate it, do not impute to us tenets " which our faith and our hearts diſavow. A few days " ago you thought as we do; we then told you that " God who commands you to condemn ſin, forbids you " to judge the ſinner. The God who forbids you to " ſhare in the extortion of the publican, in the worſhip " of the pagan, commands you to love all men without " exception as your brethren; to ſerve the Samaritan and " the Jew, the Infidel and the Chriſtian, in all things " which do not endanger your own ſoul. He forbids " you in a particular manner to condemn any man, be- " cauſe he alone knows the real diſpoſitions of the heart, " and his providence is admirable in the means of reco- " vering the loſt ſheep.

" You have joined our enemies, who have long pre- " tended not to underſtand us, and who accuſed us of " cruelty and tyranny, becauſe they imputed to us the " doctrine of damning even invincible ignorance, or the " *bona fides* of thoſe who have not the happineſs to know " and to follow the catholic church. You attribute to " this church a doctrine which ſhe has expreſsly con- " demned as an error. Take up the hiſtory and the " deciſions of this church, and you will find the errors of " Baius, and, among the reſt, this poſition ſucceſſively " condemned by three popes. Not only do we not " condemn the error of *bona fides*, but according to our " doctrine it is impoſſible for man to be damned for ſuch " error. Man can only be damned by ſin, and the " church has condemned this propoſition of Baius; Error " *bona fide*, or negative infidelity, is a ſin. This pro- " ſcription pronounced by popes, accepted without recla- " mation by the catholic biſhops, is a ſolemn judgment " which the catholic church can never reverſe.

" No,

"No, I repeat it, we damn no man; we ſigh over "our ſtrayed brethren; we regret their loſs of our "ſacraments, and of the means of ſalvation, which are "only found in the Catholic church; but we ſet no "limits to the mercy and the grace of God, who "enlightens their minds and touches their hearts, and "before he ſummons them to his tribunal, gives them "knowledge, faith and love which cover a multitude of "ſins.

"If you ſpeak of a man in the ſtate of nature, "a man free from every ſtain but the invincible "ignorance of the true faith, we ſhall oppoſe a "miracle of grace to this miracle of nature Sooner "ſhall the God of mercies manifeſt himſelf by the moſt "aſtoniſhing prodigies, and ſanctifying by his graces in "a manner unknown to human wiſdom this man of na-"ture, call him to himſelf, than he ſhall deliver him over "to eternal darkneſs and miſery for an inevitable igno-"rance: ſo unwilling are we to condemn a *bona fides*."

This candid expoſition of the catholic doctrine ſucceſsfully repelled the daring attack made on it in the aſſembly, but could afford no ſolid comfort to the wounded conſciences of the conſtitutional clergy. Their plea of invincible ignorance could not be admitted after the deciſions of the Pope and the biſhops, after they had ſeen ſo many paſtors quit their flocks and their all, and expoſe themſelves to impriſonment, exile, and death, rather than lend their names to ſchiſm and hereſy. They muſt know that the real *bona fides*, which alone is accepted by God, muſt be accompanied with an honeſt, an unfeigned deſire to know the truth, with a ſerious diſpoſition to embrace and follow it through every hardſhip and every poſſible diſadvantage as ſoon as it ſhall be known.

Inſtead

Inſtead of theſe diſpoſitions an infamous puſillanimity and a daſtardly ſubmiſſion marked the conduct of thoſe men who had changed their religion from a fear of the legiſlators of the day, and who were ready to change again as often as men in power ſhould dictate a new doctrine. The Catholics repreſented to them, "that in "all poſſible caſes it was eſſentially wrong in them "to load the church with calumnies, wrong in their "legiſlators and their doctors to talk of intolerance. "Our religion, ſaid they, like truth, can never coaleſce "with error and falſehood; our religion, like charity, "can never teach us to hate our diſſenting brethren; "our religion, like the Divinity, makes the ſun of "beneficence ſhine on the infidel, and the believer; on "the juſt man and the ſinner; it every where finds men "to embrace in the bonds, in the affections, in the "benevolence of an univerſal fraternity."

The other objections adduced by the member who brought up the report were anſwered with equal eaſe. In his enthuſiaſtic delirium he had condeſcended to adopt an idea of Tom Payne, the moſt extravagant perhaps that ever diſgraced an author's pen. "The diverſity "of religions is more agreeable to the Supreme Being "than the cold ſpectacle of an uniform worſhip, the "monotony of which reſembles the formal etiquette of "the court of a deſpot, rather than the emulation of a "numerous family, who by aſſiduities always new, by "varied and eager attention honour the author of their "exiſtence."

So depraved was the taſte of the French legiſlators, that they gave Tom Payne credit for ſterling wit, and applauded his wiſdom. Thus religion always one, always true, was a tedious ſpectacle to the Father of mankind.

mankind. The God of theſe ſophiſts muſt be entertained by a medley of truth and falſehood in the mouths of his children; and as truth is but one, and falſehood varies beyond all calculation, this God muſt have a thouſand children to amuſe him for one who told truth to honour him. Symbols invented by men muſt make him amends for the ſymbol of truth which he alone could dictate.

The reader need not be told that many other abſurdities were contained in the report we have ſo often mentioned. Among other things Mr. Français expreſſed a wiſh that the non-juring prieſts might enjoy the liberty of *their worſhip*, but then moved that they might be ſtript of the eſſentials of this liberty; that they might be forbid to *preach*, to *confeſs*, and to *teach*. He obſerved, that all *their crimes eſcaped unpuniſhed, becauſe they left no hold of them*; and he added, that a great number of them had, during *thirty months, written, preached, heard confeſſions, only to promote a counter-revolution; that they had ſeduced and armed the villages*, and that no one was ignorant of theſe crimes. He concluded by acknowledging that no one had been puniſhed by the tribunals, and with propoſing a decree which would involve them all in one verdict without a trial.

The aſſembly no longer aſtoniſhed at any impiety, any contradiction, any extravagance, when the non-juring prieſts were the objects of their deliberations, voted the printing of the report; and on the 26th they made a decree containing the following clauſes.

1. The tranſportation, that is to ſay the baniſhment, the forcible tranſportation of the non-juring prieſts, ſhall take place as a meaſure of police.

2. Under

2. Under the deſcription of non-juring prieſts are to be ranked all thoſe ſubject to the oath preſcribed by the law of December 26, 1790; that is to ſay, all biſhops, curates, vicars, and teachers in orders who have not taken it; alſo thoſe who not being ſubject to that law, have not taken the civic oath ſince the 3d of September; in a word, all thoſe who ſhall have retracted either one or other of theſe two oaths.

3. As often as twenty active citizens ſhall join in a petition for the tranſportation of a non-juring eccleſiaſtic, the directory of the department ſhall be obliged to pronounce ſuch tranſportation if the diſtrict favours the petition.

4. If the opinion of the directors of the diſtrict ſhould not be conformable to the petition, the directors of the department ſhall be obliged to appoint commiſſaries to enquire whether the preſence of the eccleſiaſtic denounced, diſturbs the public tranquillity; and on the report of the ſaid commiſſaries, if conformable to the petition, the directors of the department ſhall be obliged to pronounce tranſportation.

5. In caſe any non-juring eccleſiaſtic ſhall by overt-acts occaſion any diſturbance, the facts may be denounced to the department by one or more active citizens; and when proved, tranſportation ſhall be the penalty.

6. If the active citizens who prefer the petition cannot write, it ſhall be received in the preſence of the ſecretary of the diſtrict by the ſheriff's officer.

7. The department ſhall command all eccleſiaſtics ſubject to tranſportation to retire in 24 hours out of the

limits of the diſtrict where they reſided, in three days out of the department, and in one month out of the kingdom.

8. The eccleſiaſtic ſhall declare to what country he intends to retire; he ſhall receive a paſſport deſcribing his perſon, and three livres for every ten leagues till he is out of the kingdom.

9. If he does not obey, the military ſhall deliver him from brigade to brigade.

10. Thoſe who ſhall remain or return into the kingdom after the ſentence of tranſportation is paſſed, ſhall be condemned to impriſonment for ten years.

If the national aſſembly had not taken care to print and publiſh the reports and decrees, the hiſtorian would ſcarce have dared to tranſmit them to poſterity. The childiſh abſurdities and the tyrannic diſpoſitions of this decree were eaſily pointed out by the clergy to the ſatisfaction of their countrymen. They proved it to be a manifeſt contradiction to the conſtitution, and the ſolemn declarations that the law muſt be the ſame for all, while the clergy were ſubjected to penalties inſtituted for them alone, and to acknowledged rights by which no man was ſubject to any puniſhment till his guilt was proved; while, if among ſo many clubs of jacobins, ſworn enemies to their order, twenty indigent, ignorant men, who could not even write their names, could be found to give evidence, the non-juring prieſt, whom they were pleaſed not to like, muſt be condemned to baniſhment. The tyranny of this decree was ſtill more glaring in the diſtinction made between a caſe when an information laid by a ſingle perſon might ſtand in need of ſome proof to authorize a ſentence of exile, and the caſe where the whim of twenty jacobins might command tranſportation.

Theſe

Theſe contradictions, theſe atrocities, and many more which diſgraced the decree, were placed in their proper light by Mr. de Boiſgelin, archbiſhop of Aix, and Mr. Dulan, archbiſhop of Arles. The former was obliged to fly to England for having publiſhed an excellent work, another fate awaited the latter.

The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this decree was, that it pointed out the nature of the cauſe, and fixed the preciſe object of the perſecution of the non-juring clergy. The chief and fundamental reaſon aſſigned for their tranſportation is neither the pretended diſturbance they might create, nor the charge of encouraging the projects of royaliſts, ariſtocrats, and counter-revolutioniſts. Their only crime is their refuſal to take the famous oath of December 26, 1790, an oath ſolemnly proſcribed by the Pope and the biſhops, as an oath of ſchiſm, hereſy, and apoſtaſy; an oath which had given occaſion to the proud profeſſion of faith made in the ſeſſion of the aſſembly held on the 4th of January, 1791. At that time perſecution went no farther than driving the biſhops and curates from their ſees and their churches; but now they were to be baniſhed from the kingdom at the will of their moſt implacable enemies.

Something different was the caſe of that deſcription of men who were ſtiled public functionaries. Theſe were to be tranſported for refuſing to take the civic oath. The reader may recollect the many reaſons they aſſigned for this refuſal; ſince the French conſtitution being now completed, comprehended in its different parts many things which religion condemned in the pretended civil conſtitution of the clergy, and even the whole of this laſt conſtitution.

Perſecutions which followed the refuſal of the ſanction.

Lewis XVI. acted upon the ſame principles with the clergy. He had come to a reſolution never to ſanction any thing that might affect the intereſts of religion, and refuſed his concurrence to this decree in oppoſition to the jacobin miniſters with whom they had ſurrounded him. The aſſembly gained a freſh occaſion for demurs againſt the royal veto. They knew how to render it ineffectual. Denunciations, ſanguinary petitions were now multiplied in every ſeſſion. The jacobins employed all their arts to raiſe diſcontent in the provinces, and to attribute the diſturbances they occaſioned to the recuſancy of the clergy and the veto of the king. They inſiſted every where on the execution of the decree in ſpite of his majeſty's oppoſition, and they proceeded to the impriſonment of the non-conforming clergy.

At Dijon fifty of them were confined in the ſeminary, and the populace were encouraged to put them to death. In this ſanguinary project however, they did not ſucceed. In the ſouth of France, at Marſeilles, Nimes and Montpellier, the executive power of the ruffians was daily gaining ſtrength. They paraded the ſtreets with bludgeons, and lamed and murdered prieſts, children and pregnant women. In the laſt of theſe cities, not ſatisfied with the execution done by thoſe weapons, they fired upon the people as they entered the Catholic Chapels. Mr. Balacon formerly a profeſſor in the college, and Mr. Cuſſac, curate of St. Marguerite, had fallen martyrs to their faith. Four or five citizens were murdered in the act of oppoſing this violence. At Lyons, and at Chalons-ſur-Saone, prieſts and grand vicars were impriſoned on the moſt frivolous pretext and without any form of law. It was reckoned an heroic diſplay of courage in the magiſtrates of Lyons, to have pronounced, amidſt the hiſſes

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and inſults of the jacobins, that the non-juring prieſts had not offended againſt the law, by having according to their religious opinion, adminiſtered the ſacrament of baptiſm, or the euchariſt, or even by praying aloud for the Pope.

Prieſts taking refuge in Paris.

Theſe hourly vexations obliged many of the eccleſiaſtics to take refuge at Rouen, Amiens, and a few other cities, where the magiſtrates oppoſed with ſome ſucceſs this ſpirit of perſecution. Many reſorted to Paris, where, under the diſguiſe of a lay-habit, they hoped to eſcape obſervation. Their number had for ſome time been ſo conſiderable, ſo many venerable paſtors robbed and ill-uſed in the villages had reſorted thither unprovided with every thing; they found ſo much difficulty in obtaining the payment of the ſcanty allowance made them by the firſt aſſembly, that they were now reduced to the neceſſity of depending for a ſubſiſtence on their own labours, or the charity of the faithful. Known only to their friends, or having no friends, the aged curates and vicars thought themſelves happy, if they could earn their bread by the ſweat of their brow in the meaneſt employments. Some carried water about. Their modeſt air and decent compoſure drew the eyes of their cuſtomers upon them, little uſed to decency in the claſs of men in which they were enrolled. They gave them a preference, which furniſhed an opportunity of being uſeful to them. But this preference was attended with ſome danger, and they retired to a diſtant quarter of the town to mingle with another claſs of water-carriers.

Others were ſtill more laboriouſly employed. At the dawn of day, habited in the ragged attire which beſt ſuits the profeſſion, they ran with the porters to the river ſide. With

With a ſheep ſkin on their backs, and a hod on their ſhoulders, they waded into the river, received their load of floated wood, ran chearfully with it to the warehouſe, and returned for a freſh burden. The angels of heaven witneſſed their alacrity, they ſaw them quit the taſk when their daily proviſion was earned, then haſten to change their dreſs, and throw themſelves at the foot of the altar of ſome diſtant chapel, and there offer to God the ſacrifice of a faith which they were ſo worthy to teach, ſince they could for it ſubmit to labours the moſt mean and painful.

The ſtory was then current at Paris of one of theſe honeſt curates, who, driven from his pariſh, had hired himſelf as a common gardener. While one day at work, he ſaw his biſhop walking, and paſſing and re-paſſing the ſpot where he ſtood; a habit of reſpect made him bow his head as often as he approached. This ſtruck the prelate, and after obſerving him narrowly, he went to the lady to whom the garden belonged, and ſaid; What ſort of a man have you for your gardener, do you know any thing of him? Not I, ſays ſhe; all I know of him is, that he is a very honeſt fellow; he has lived three months here, and I have never heard the leaſt complaint againſt him. They tell me that on Sundays and holidays, inſtead of going to the alehouſe, he ſpends his time in the church. Well, Madam, ſays the biſhop, that man was one of the beſt curates I had in my dioceſe, and one who has ſuffered moſt from the perſecution. That does not ſurpriſe me, ſays the lady, and haſtening to the garden, ſhe accoſts the curate in terms which ſhew that he is diſcovered, and cover him with confuſion. He is ordered from the garden to her table; ſhe names him her chaplain, and ſettles a penſion on him for life. He accepted the table, and applied the penſion to the relief of his indigent brethren.

Theſe

These traits of the confessors of Jesus Christ were agreeable in the sight of heaven, and cannot be thought unworthy the notice of ecclesiastical history. An honourable poverty is a long martyrdom, and perhaps more courage is necessary to support it, than to meet death itself. I shall never forget the situation in which I saw a young priest, who, born a gentleman, was extremely sensible to all the horrors of the accumulated miseries to which he was reduced. However he nobly preferred hunger to guilt, and could never be prevailed upon to take an oath inconsistent with his religion.

This young gentleman was designed to be a page to the Duke of Penthievre. When he embraced the ecclesiastical state, his love of military glory was not quite extinguished, and he chose to be a chaplain on board a man of war. Having been three years absent on board a frigate on the East India station, he had scarcely ever heard of the revolution, and had not the smallest idea of that which affected religion, when the frigate returned to Brest. He presents himself at the office for his pay. They demand a certificate of his good conduct: the officers, who love him, give him one in the most honourable terms. It is read at the pay-office, and then he is told, that it is not enough; you cannot receive your pay till you have taken the oath. What oath, gentlemen? I know nothing of any oath. Have I been wanting to that which I took to serve the king faithfully? I am a gentleman, and I have done my duty aboard the frigate. But they assure him, that there is another oath to be taken by priests, the oath to maintain the new constitution of the clergy. He had never heard of this new constitution, and he will not swear to maintain what he does not understand. He represents, that he entered the service without any condition, and that it is but just

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that he ſhould receive what was become due to him during a long voyage. He is not heard. Upon enquiry, he finds that one of the old Biſhops lives near Breſt. He goes to conſult him, and returning to the pay-office, he reſigns his emolument rather than ſwear againſt his honour and conſcience. The ſame frigate is now ordered to America, and the officers agree to take charge of the chaplain, and to defray his expences. They were on the point of ſailing, when the municipal officers arrive and declare, that a refractory prieſt cannot be a chaplain, preſenting at the ſame time an apoſtate monk to ſupply his place. The monk was extremely diſagreeable to the crew, and the young prieſt, ſenſible that any affront offered to him would be imputed to himſelf, made an apology to the officers, and ſet off for Paris deſtitute of every thing but the hope of finding ſome employment. He applied to the gentlemen of his cloth, and on that occaſion I had the honour to ſee him. He was a compound of military courage, the feelings of ſhame and the ſentiments of religion. He could not bear the thought of quitting the military line, he wept at the neceſſity of begging his bread, but ſtill conſcience was uppermoſt. Burſting into a flood of tears, partly from indignation and partly from ſhame, "they may do what they "pleaſe, ſays he, I can die of hunger; they may cruſh "my head to atoms, but I will never ſwear againſt my "religion." Providence protected this young man, improved his ſentiments, and delivered him from a danger ſtill greater than what he might have met with at ſea. He was one of thoſe who eſcaped from the maſſacre at the Carmes.

The number of the refugees at Paris, and their honourable poverty, had, during the laſt ſix months, increaſed to ſuch a pitch, that it had been neceſſary to open a public

public ſubſcription for their relief. The plan of this aſſociation was printed, and banks appointed to receive the benefactions of the faithful. Clergymen who had any income of their own, laymen above mediocrity, generouſly encouraged this good work. Some were known to advance 20, others 30,000 livres, for the relief of the nonjuring prieſts. Some of the biſhops ſcarcely allowed themſelves neceſſaries, in order to provide for their clergy, and eſpecially for thoſe, who lying concealed in the provinces, were expoſed to a thouſand dangers in the adminiſtration of ſpiritual comfort to their flocks.

Difficulty of performing the ſervice in the provinces.

In idolatrous nations, the miſſionaries are not more on their guard to eſcape the obſervation of their perſecutors, than the catholic prieſts in many parts of France, to hear confeſſions, and carry the holy viaticum to the ſick. Their zeal made them put on all ſhapes, even the moſt abhorrent from their eccleſiaſtical dreſs. A ſublime charity is fertile in invention. In the dioceſe of Mons a curate was ſitting with his vicar, apparently in great trouble: "That poor baker "will die without the ſacraments," ſays he, "he has "ſent for me, and the intruder's ſpies will not ſuffer me "to paſs." "No," ſays the vicar, "the honeſt fellow "ſhall not die without the ſacraments." He then puts on a baker's frock, hoiſts upon his back a huge ſack of flour, and puſhes through the intruder's ſpies. On his return, the curate was highly entertained with an account of the piety and the gratitude, with which the dying man had received the ſacraments.

Another prieſt in the ſame dioceſe receives the following note: "I am dying in ſuch a ward of the hoſpital; "we have none but ſchiſmatical prieſts about us, and I "will have nothing to do with them." The curate throws himſelf upon a bier, is carried to the hoſpital, and begs

admiſſion as a patient. The ſtratagem ſucceeds, he adminiſters to the ſick man, and after ſeeing him die the death of the juſt, he returns home perfectly cured of all his uneaſy ſenſations. We ſhall form a right judgment of theſe ſeveral actions, if we reflect that certain death awaited the prieſts who were found in the act of adminiſtering the ſacraments.

All theſe precautions were not yet neceſſary at Paris. Even this year in the beginning of June, appeared a reſolution of the municipality, a letter from the ſheriff, and another from the ſolicitor of the commons, all declaring that they entertained ſentiments of the higheſt reſpect for the principles conſecrated by the conſtitution, which ſecures to every man the right of exerciſing the religious worſhip which he chuſes; *and that this liberty of religion ſhould have no bounds, ſhould be exempted by no reſtriction.* While theſe pompous declarations were publiſhed, and theſe deluſive promiſes were made, the ſecret committees of the municipality and the aſſembly were preparing a dreadful ſtorm. They had ſworn to deſtroy the king, and the protection he granted to the nonjuring clergy was the motive held out to the people to excite their rage. On the 20th of June, the mob was put in motion; the palace of the Thuilleries was ſurrounded by 20,000 men armed with pikes, bayonets and axes, by Caron, and a populace without number; they made their way into the palace. This was a proud day for Lewis XVI. He himſelf opened the door of his apartment, at the moment when it was yielding to repeated ſtrokes of an axe. A foreſt of pikes entered, and one of them would have wounded the king, if a grenadier had not parried the blow with his ſabre. At the ſame inſtant the mob ruſhed in with the moſt hideous cries. The receſs of a window, with a table before it, was the only place to which the king could retire to avoid ſuffocation, or perhaps a more

more violent death. He owed his life more to the firmneſs of his conduct, and his preſence of mind, than to the ſwords of the few faithful guards who attended him. But all his magnanimity could not ſecure him from the humiliation of the red cap, which the populace placed on his head as the crown of the day, nor from the nauſeous draught, which he might ſuppoſe was poiſoned, and which he was obliged to ſwallow to the health of the nation, which theſe ruffians pretended to repreſent; nor from three hours of the moſt outrageous inſolence, the groſſeſt invective and ſanguinary threats, which he bore with an equanimity which was his diſtinguiſhing character through life.

During the horrors of this inauſpicious day, the queen manifeſted the moſt majeſtic intrepidity. The malice of the jacobins was levelled chiefly at her; the mob was inſtructed to demand her head, and ſhe freely offered it to ſave that of the king. The miniſters and her attendants obliged her to remain in a room to which the rabble had not yet found a way. "My place is," ſays ſhe, "next "to the perſon of the king when he is in danger." They were obliged to remonſtrate, that her place was likewiſe near her children. Madame Elizabeth, that angel, that model of natural accompliſhments and religious virtues, preſented herſelf to the ſwords of an enraged multitude, and ſaid to thoſe about her, *Ah! would they but miſtake me for the queen!*

This inſurrection was but a trial of the ſtrength of the jacobin party. Briſſot and Genſonnet, and the Girondine legiſlators, in league with the mayor Pethion, had not communicated even to the great club the real object of their deſign. The important queſtion of the forfeiture of the crown had already been decided in the ſecret committee; the decrees of the 10th of Auguſt were arranged; Pethion knew this; but he was willing to lead

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the people from one exceſs to another, in order to let them feel the weight of their own power againſt the court. The moment of preſſing the abdication or ſuſpenſion was near; but hitherto the only oſtenſible motive for the inſurrection, was the refuſal of the king to ſanction the decrees paſſed againſt the non-juring clergy. The king pleaded conſcience, his rights, the liberty eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution, and the oath he had taken to maintain that conſtitution. The deputies from the aſſembly, who pretended to have come with a view to extricate their ſovereign from his diſagreeable ſituation, now pretending to be ſatisfied with his anſwers, adviſed the people to be ſatisfied too. At this moment the perfidious Pethion made his appearance, and ſpoke thus to the mob: "*You have this day aſſerted your ſovereignty, it is time for* "*you to retire.*"

Lewis XVI. appeared ſo great on this occaſion, that the friends of the altar and the throne were willing to hope, that the French nation would, from admiration and eſteem, return to the ancient love of their kings. Fifty-four departments ſent up addreſſes, expreſſive of their abhorrence of the inſurrection of June 20, and their readineſs to repair its outrages. The jacobins, practiſed in all the arts of conducting a conſpiracy, would not allow time for the people to cool, and to ſtrengthen the loyal ſentiments which they had begun to adopt. Briſſot and the Girondine conſpirators, had by their intrigues brought the unfortunate monarch to a declaration of war againſt Auſtria, notwithſtanding his averſion to ſo precipitate a meaſure. The time was faſt approaching, when theſe conſpirators had determined to make this hoſtile aggreſſion fall on his head, as the cauſe of all the misfortunes which were to follow, and as an opportunity to invite foreign armies into the heart of the kingdom, to deſtroy the new conſtitution, to re-eſtabliſh the court, the clergy, the nobility

nobility, and the whole of the ancient government. On one hand, theſe wicked meaſures created new jealouſies and diſtruſt in the minds of the people againſt the king, and the clubs poured in addreſſes demanding his forfeiture; and on the other the non-conforming clergy were repreſented as ſeconding with all their influence the treachery of the court, and their impriſonment, or their exile, was preſſed with increaſing violence.

Anarchy, uncontrolled anarchy, now prevailed every where. Each department made and executed its deſpotic reſolutions, in ſpite of the royal authority. Every department, every diſtrict, every one of the forty-four thouſand municipalities, impatient of the royal *veto*, aſſumed to themſelves that power over the prerogative of the crown. The jacobins of Finiſterre had taken the lead in this wicked tyranny. They were not ſoothed by the confinement of 80 prieſts in the caſtle of Breſt. On the firſt of July, of the fourth year of their liberty, they propoſed to the general adminiſtration of the department, a reſolution grounded on a motive, ſurpaſſing every thing that the baſeſt calumny had invented, if its credibility had been equal to the guilt.

It ſet forth, "That this department, lately a witneſs "to one of the moſt flagitious attempts, that the hiſtory "of fanaticiſm has recorded in the annals of nations, "was ſtill haraſſed by internal diviſions, ariſing from a "difference of religious opinions." It is natural to aſk, what this unheard-of crime may be? The impartial enquirer will ſay, this muſt be an atrocious attempt indeed, ſince the judges dare not even to name it. The non-conforming clergy muſt have been principally concerned in it, ſince the whole puniſhment falls on them. The man who reaſons may view the whole in another light; he may heſitate, he may doubt the exiſtence of a crime which

which is not ſpecified. He may ſuſpect ſome foul play where no prieſt is indicted, and all prieſts condemned. We are happy to be able to remove all uncertainty, by giving a fair account of the origin and the circumſtances of this myſterious affair. An unhappy man was indicted at the bar of the aſſembly for the murder of his wife and children; after the ſtricteſt enquiry he was acquitted. It was proved in evidence, that he had not committed this horrid crime, till a ſecond or a third attack of a fever, a phyſical frenzy, had deprived him of his reaſon and his liberty.

This unfortunate wretch did not communicate with the ſchiſmatics, and this was enough to make the non-juring clergy the authors of his crime. He was phyſically mad, and we pity him; the jacobins were morally mad, and we deſpiſe them.

With the ſame inveterate malice, this reſolution repeated and exaggerated all the imputations hitherto adduced againſt the catholic clergy. It aſſerted, that the channels through which the public fortune muſt flow, were obſtructed by the evil deſigns and perfidy of theſe prieſts; that the criminal intrigues prevented the receipt of the public contributions; that they ſowed diſtruſt on every meaſure of the legiſlature. That the only means of enjoying peace would be to arreſt, as public enemies, all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to take the civic oath, ſtill leaving them the option to profeſs, in a foreign country, maxims and opinions incompatible with civil ſociety and the tranquillity of the kingdom.

To ſubdue a reſiſtance which was no where made, all eccleſiaſtics, regular and ſecular, who had not conformed, were to be arreſted by the military, conducted to the neareſt diſtrict, and from thence conveyed to the caſtle of Breſt, and there confined.

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This clauſe of the reſolution had already been executed on all that had been diſcovered. But to pave the way for their baniſhment, it was added, all theſe eccleſiaſtics are free to remain in this fortreſs, or to quit the kingdom. Thoſe who ſhall chuſe to retire, ſhall be put on board the firſt veſſels that ſhall ſail for Spain, Portugal or Italy, and to engage other departments to adopt the ſame meaſure, it was ordered that a copy of this reſolution ſhould be tranſmitted to them.

Notwithſtanding the ſucceſs with which the jacobins had procured the return of the popular magiſtrates, it was impoſſible that meaſures ſo violent and deſpotic ſhould be carried without oppoſition. The diſſentient members contended, that inſtead of arbitrary impriſonment and exile, the law ſhould be impartially adminiſtered to the nonjuring prieſts as to all other citizens. On this ground they voted that the priſoners in the caſtle ſhould be immediately releaſed. They were on the point of carrying this motion, when Expilly aroſe to move an amendment. Expilly had dictated the reſolution, and he now negatived its repeal. Ambition had made him an apoſtate, and apoſtaſy made him a tyrant.

The intruding biſhop of Quimper was not the only one, whom a conſciouſneſs of an infamous deſertion had rendered implacable. Their cloſe connexion with the jacobins, leaves no room to doubt of their being privy to plots, ſtill more atrocious than impriſonment and exile. Some of them were unguarded enough to betray their own ſecret. Mr. d'Argentré, the worthy biſhop of Limoges, a benevolent prelate, beloved univerſally for his ſound and endearing manners, and reſpected for his religious virtues, would not have been driven into exile, would not have been obliged to take refuge in England againſt ſtill ſeverer trials, if the profligate Guai de Vernon, his conſtitutional ſucceſſor in the ſee of Limoges, had

had not expreſſed a well-grounded hope, of being ſoon able to give a good account of him. He wrote thus to his grand vicars: "I know that d'Argentre continues, "in oppoſition to the decrees of the aſſembly, to conſi- "der himſelf as biſhop of Limoges; I know that he "continues to give orders. Look you to his prieſts, and "leave his perſon to me." Theſe expreſſions coming from a man, who had then a ſeat in the aſſembly, whoſe hatred and ingratitude were no ſecrets, ſtruck even thoſe to whom they were addreſſed. Mr. de Limoges was put upon his guard, and was obliged to fly from the deſigns of a man whoſe fortune he had made, and whoſe two brothers, through his intereſt, had obtained, one a commiſſion in the army, and the other a benefice in the church.

Such was the general character of this apoſtate tribe, that no one was ſurpriſed to ſee this ſame Guai de Vernon, in one of his paſtoral letters, exhort all his dioceſans to arm themſelves with pikes, the model of which he ſent them, and the fabrication of which was ſuperintended by one of his brothers, his worthy grand vicar.

Men of this temper were kept in a conſtant ferment by the writings of the jacobins. They publiſhed a plan for repelling the attack of a foreign enemy, who threatened an invaſion of the French territory. They aſſured the people, that victory would attend their arms, if they would begin by exterminating all the non-juring prieſts, unleſs it ſhould appear more adviſeable to tie them, with the children, the relations and wives of the emigrants, to the mouths of the cannon which was to ſtop the progreſs of the Pruſſians. Advice was ſoon forwarded from the provinces, that from Breſt to Marſeilles the moſt diligent ſearch was made for thoſe prieſts, and many circum-

circumſtances indicated the approach of a perſecution of another kind.

The national aſſembly had declared the nation to be in danger, and it was an eaſy matter to perſuade the people, that this danger originated with the refractory clergy; that many of their bodies were found on the field of battle in the Pruſſian ranks; that they were all diſpoſed to join the enemy, and that their retreat from France afforded them the opportunity of joining the French emigrants. Thus every thing foreboded ſcenes of horror, every thing indicated a deſign to carry matters farther than incarceration and exile. The jacobins thirſted for the blood of prieſts, and, under various pretexts, their blood flowed plentifully in the provinces.

Towards the end of June the converſation again turned on a camp at Jalès. This had been a bugbear employed by the news-writers to frighten the revolutioniſts. In vain did Mr. Duſſailant attempt to give it ſome conſiſtency. He could never collect above 1200 men, and the department of Gar ordered an army of 25,000 Calviniſts from Nimes and Alais, to march againſt him. Duſſaillant's forces diſbanded without firing a cannon; the peaſants ſeized and murdered him on the 11th of July, and his head was carried about in triumph. This event brought on ſcenes of horror in this part of the country. The revolutioniſts, finding no enemy to fight, ſet fire to the barns, the houſes, the cottages of the miſerable inhabitants, who had fled into the woods, and maſſacred every man who was ſuppoſed to have favored the deſigns of the camp of Jalès. Every non-conforming prieſt would naturally fall under this deſcription The truth is, that one monk who was no prieſt, had made himſelf talked of in the hiſtory of this famous camp, but he was no longer in France. Unluckily his name was Baſtide; and a prieſt of the ſame name XI. Degree of perſecution, particular maſſacres.

who

who had never been connected with this camp, was miſtaken for him. He was then at Villefort, and there he was cut to pieces. This was a ſignal for a general ſearch.

Two Sulpicians, a Mr. Bravard a native of Auvergne, aged 98, and a Mr. Le Jeune a native of Orleans, both directors of the ſeminary of Avignon, had hoped to eſcape their fury, by retiring to the houſe of a curate in the neighbourhood. They were diſcovered and confined in the priſon of Vans. They were ſoon joined by other priſoners. Mr. Novi, vicar of Aujac, torn from the arms of his father; Mr. Nadal, a curate of the dioceſe of Uſez, and the curate of Ville-de-Bone, were of the number of nineteen now confined. The magiſtrates could not proceed to judgment for want of evidence. A horde of huguenots undertook to prove and to puniſh the crime.

On the 14th of July, at mid-day the priſon doors are forced, the prieſts are ordered to come forth, three and three, and conducted to *Lagrave*. Here they have the option of the oath or of death. The venerable Sulpician chuſes death, and the two prieſts his companions make the ſame choice, and meet with the ſame fate. They are followed by their fellow priſoners to the ſame place, and united in ſentiments, they meet with the ſame reward. The Abbe Novi, at the age of twenty-eight, is reſerved for a more ſevere trial. The ruffians ſend for his father, and in the midſt of eight dead bodies, they repreſent to him that his ſon's fate depends on his advice and authority; that he ſhall die if he perſiſts in his refuſal to take the conſtitutional oath; that he ſhall live if he can perſuade him to ſwear. The unfortunate father wavering, heſitating between the feelings of nature and the duties of religion, overcome, yielding to parental fondneſs, throws his arms round the neck of his child, by tears and throbs rather than by articulate words, preſſes,

conjures

conjures him ; " My child, ſpare my life by preſerving " thy own."——" My dear father, I will do more. " I will die worthy of you and of my God. You edu- " cated me in the catholic religion, and I have the honour " to be a prieſt. I know my duty, and it will be more " honourable to have your ſon a martyr than an apoſtate." The father feels the impreſſion of theſe different ſentiments ; once more he embraces his ſon ; once more his tears bedew his cheeks ; *My ſon*, and he could ſay no more. The ruffians tear his ſon from him ; he ſees him ſtretch out his neck, and his cries and lamentations, by alarming the executioners, only prolong his torments. Two ſtrokes ill aimed have ſcarce brought him to the ground, and they ſeem willing to leave him in this con- dition. His breviary had fallen from his hands ; he riſes to recover it, again preſents his neck, and another ſtroke crowns him with martyrdom.

In the ſame town and on the ſame ſpot nature was inſulted, wrecked and violated in a contrary ſenſe. The axe was raiſed over the head of Mr. Teron, when the ruffians recollected that he had a ſon about ten years old. To enjoy at once the ſpectacle of the father's blood and the boys tears, he is brought to the place of execution. His tears, his lamentations add a new charm to their ferocious ecſtacy, and the parent falls under the eyes of his child, who is bathed in the blood of him to whom he owed his exiſtence.

A great many other victims were immolated by the ſanguinary Girondiſts, who carrying fire and ſword into the neighbouring villages, murdered every inoffenſive cottager who was ſuſpected of an attachment to the old church eſtabliſhment. Five and twenty or thirty prieſts ſhared the ſame fate, and among the reſt another Baſtide of Berias ; he was found in his brother's barn, dragged into the kennel, and there covered with wounds.

Thus

Thus the deluded Huguenots of the South, perſecuſed and maſſacred the catholic clergy, for refuſing to take the oath which they themſelves could not take without departing from their own principles. For though the creed had adopted many Calviniſtical tenets, ſtill it retained the maſs, epiſcopacy and confeſſion. The parſon and the prieſt muſt with equal zeal reject this oath, though from different motives. Whence then this inveterate malice, this undaunting fury againſt a ſet of men, whoſe only crime, even in the eye of their perſecutors, is the refuſal of this oath. The nature of the revolution will explain the myſtery. The unbeliever and the uſurper impelled the jacobins; the jacobins bullied the Huguenots; the devil encouraged them all with the ſame phrenzy. Thus God made uſe of them all to try his church, and his prieſts forgave all. They eſteemed themſelves happy in an occaſion to die for their faith.

The impreſſion was ſalutary, and it was laſting. Perſecution had purified the hearts of the clergy. If there were ſome who had not ſufficiently entered into the deſigns of providence to detach themſelves from this world; the greater number being now called upon to ſuffer for Jeſus Chriſt, reflected with pleaſure on theſe words, "Happy "are you when men hate you and perſecute you for my "name." Strengthened by the divine promiſes, if on one hand they wept over the fatal errors and blindneſs of their enemies, on the other they reaſoned thus with themſelves.—Theſe are the bright days of the church, the time of probation, grace and courage to the ſincere chriſtian, and of glory to God. We defended the cauſe of religion when it opened to us the path to the honours and the riches of this world; let us now prove that we love and ſerve it for its own ſake. In the confeſſionals and in the pulpit we often repeated to the faithful, that there can be no true love of God, no ſincere regret for having offended him, if we are not conſequently diſpoſed rather to die, than to violate

violate his faith and his law; let our example now confirm these leſſons. Let us lay hold of the crown which he vouchſafes to preſent us, and if France is to be purified by martyrs, happy will they be who ſhall enjoy this honour.

The time approached when theſe diſpoſitions were to be juſtified by whole hecatombs of ſlaughtered prieſts. The clergy of Paris were prepared for this event, by daily accounts of their brethren murdered in the provinces. The very ſame day on which thoſe of Vans had the honor to ſeal their faith with their blood, other victims were ſacrificed at Bourdeaux.

This city, the rival of Paris in affluence, in faſhion and folly, had taken a leading part in the revolution. The Girondin journaliſts and clubs had long marked out the nonjuring clergy to popular fury. If on one hand the patriots and Huguenots then in power, were averſe to ſearch-warrants and pillage, and dared not to promiſe impunity to all the exceſſes of an enraged populace; on the other it was evident they wiſhed them to extirpate the prieſts in ſome of thoſe tumultuary inſurrections which threatened no immediate danger to private property. They were expoſed to every inſult, every injury ſhort of aſſaſſination. They ſpared the lives of Dom Gauban, a Benedictin monk, and of the Abbe Gaudet; but the former by a decree of the legiſlative aſſembly, was ſentenced to three months impriſonment, without the leaſt appearance of criminality, and when acquitted it was thought a mercy that inſtead of an indemnity, he was ſuffered to eſcape with his life: the latter for having ſaid maſs in his own houſe, was conducted amidſt the hiſſes and the menaces of the mob to the common hall, and after a confinement of ſix months was acquitted; but Mr. Devignes who had acted as his counſel on the occaſion, ſaw a price ſet on his head, and only ſecured it by flight. On the Feaſt of the Aſcenſion ſeveral prieſts were brought to the

the caſtle Tropette by a band of ſoldiers, maintained at a great expenſe. Mr. Monmirel was near loſing his head for having choſen to perform the functions of a true paſtor in his own pariſh, rather than uſurp the ſee of Bourdeaux. All this did not ſatisfy the zeal of the clubs. A letter was now forged, and read publicly on the exchange, giving an account of ſix hundred prieſts and nobles aſſembled at St. Malo, to favour a deſcent of the Engliſh, and maſſacred by the people. The patriots could not conceal their joy at this intelligence. They allowed themſelves great merit for the protection they granted to the lives of the prieſts, and the moderation of their addreſs, which ſolicited nothing more than their confinement.

The grand feſtival was now near at hand; it was the 14th of July, the anniverſary of the federation, the day on which the tree of liberty was to be planted at Bourdeaux. It was thought neceſſary to water the roots of this tree with human blood. The Abbe Langoiran had an undoubted right to this honour. Vicar general of a dioceſe where his profound erudition, his prudence, his zeal, and his exemplary piety conciliated the eſteem, and encouraged the firmneſs of the clergy; he had been the marked object of perſecution. He was accuſed of having bound the prieſts by oath never to take that which the aſſembly had propoſed to them. His real crime was having anſwered an inſidious and blaſphemous letter, written in favour of the conſtitutional perjury, by Mr. Duranthon, a magiſtrate of the diſtrict; having demonſtrated that this letter contained a heap of errors, falſe quotations and ſophiſms, and having ſigned this letter which had a prodigious run. The patriots had not waited thus long to expreſs their indignation at this, and other performances on the ſame ſide of the queſtion. A conſtitutional curate had applied to him for ſome books on the ſubject. The jacobin tradeſman employed to ſend them, was not aſhamed to break the ſeal, and to denounce his employer. The judges declared

clared that Mr. Langoiran had done nothing contrary to law. The next day the diſtrict denounced this ſentence to the people, by a reſolution poſted up in every corner, and cried about every ſtreet of the town.

The preparations for the patriotic feaſt, fairly turned the heads of the people, and the citizens were alarmed at the daring inſolence of the mob. The watch-word was the extirpation of the clergy. All this while Mr. Langoiran remained quiet at home. By much perſuaſion Mr. de Lajarte at length prevailed upon him to retire for a few days to a ſmall country houſe at Caudéran. It was about half a league from Bourdeaux. There he found two other prieſts, Mr. Dupuis, a beneficed clergyman of St. Michael, and the Rev. Father Pannetier, a Carm. From him I ſhall tranſcribe a candid, impartial narrative of this tranſaction.

" A little after four in the morning, an armed rabble inveſted the houſe, and thundering againſt the door, declared they would break it down if it was not immediately opened. Neceſſity obliged us to comply, and in they ruſhed. The firſt compliment was, that they would blow our brains out if they found any fire arms in the houſe. The houſe was ſearched, and no arms found. They then ordered us to follow them, and we were conducted to the municipality of the place. The mayor and the other magiſtrates ſaw no reaſon to commit us. We were on the point of being diſmiſſed, when Mr. Langoiran was accuſed of an attempt to bribe one of the ſoldiers by the offer of ſix livres. This imputation void of probability and unſupported by proof, afforded a pretext to the proſecutors to conduct us before a juſtice of the peace. He read the minutes of the proceſs, and pronounced the whole to be illegal. His ſentence was diſregarded, and the captain of our guards ſeized Mr. Langoiran

goiran by the collar, and conducted us to the priſon of Canderan. It was dark and unwholeſome, without any one convenience. We begged Mr. Langoiran might have a chair and were refuſed. We had no light but from a hole about a foot ſquare, and through it we heard inceſſant oaths and the moſt horrid imprecations.

" During the twelve hours that we paſſed here, we entertained ourſelves with prayer and ſpiritual converſation ſuitable to our ſituation. We abandoned ourſelves to the will of providence, we accepted with reſignation the ſufferings prepared for us, and we repeated with pleaſure the beautiful paſſage of the Acts of the Apoſtles; *They went from the council rejoicing that they were found worthy to ſuffer ignominy for the name of Jeſus Chriſt.* Mr. Langoiran found great comfort from theſe words, and God gave him grace to enter into the ſentiments of the martyr Ignatius, when he cried out; *If when I am expoſed to the beaſts in the amphitheatre, they ſhould ſpare me as they have other martyrs, I would provoke them to devour me that I may become the bread of the elect.* He deſired me to hear his confeſſion, and he made it in the ſpirit of the moſt lively compunction. Then taking his pencil he marked the money he had in truſt for the relief of indigent prieſts, and gave it into my hands. About ſeven in the evening we were taken from our priſon to the department.

" On the road we met with the moſt injurious treatment. When we entered the court of the department, their threats and imprecations were ſoon followed by blows. At that moment, from an impulſe which I did not then diſtinguiſh, and for which I cannot now account, I made the beſt of my way towards a room in the houſe. Heaven favored this involuntary motion; no one attempted to ſtop me. I found a perſon at the door who kindly permitted me to enter. I know nothing of what happened after this."

Other

Other witneſſes have enabled us to continue the narration. As ſoon as the jacobins of Bordeaux were informed that Mr. Langoiran was apprehended, they diſpatched freſh emiſſaries to Cauderan; ſome travelled on foot others in Carriages. All contributed to inflame the paſſions of the people. Several-hand bills were diſtributed to this effect; *Mr. Langoiran is taken*; *he will this day be brought from Cauderan to Bordeaux*; *he is earneſtly recommended to the true patriots.*

At the entrance of the court of the department, the Abbe Dupuis received a firſt wound, and a general diſcharge ſoon brought him lifeleſs to the ground. A young man, about fifteen or ſixteen years of age, was obſerved to cut a hole in the cheek with a knife to hold the head while others cut it off. As this operation did not ſucceed amidſt this tumultuous crowd, they held the legs and dragged the body along the ſtreets, the ramparts and Place Dauphine, till they came to the middle of Touny, where they were ſtopped by a file of grenadiers.

Mr. Langoiran had juſt ſet his foot on the firſt ſtep of the ſtairs, when he was ſtopped by a pull at the ſkirt of his coat, and received a ſtroke which brought him to the ground. A profound ſilence enſued. The diſtant ſpectators enquire eagerly what was going forward, when the bleeding head was produced to view. The ruffian who held it cried aloud, *Off with your hats! Long live the nation!* and the populace bare-headed anſwered, *Long live the nation!*

The head, affixed to a pike, was carried about the town from eight in the evening till two in the morning. It was followed by about thirty men, and ten thouſand national guards, then under arms, ſtood tame ſpectators

of the ſcene. An officer on guard, endeavouring to put a ſtop to the tumult, was abandoned by his ſoldiers.

Mr. de Lajarte, and ſome other friends of the generous martyrs, had applied to the department, to the municipality, to Mr. Courſon commander of the national guards, for protection from the ſwords of the aſſaſſins; twenty men would have ſecured them; but they were refuſed. They choſe to ſpend the day in an idle parade along the Champ de Mars, in dancing round the tree of liberty, and to give a pompous reception, amidſt the ſound of martial inſtruments, to Mr. Duranthon, whoſe errors had been ſo ably repelled by Mr. Langoiran, and who after holding the ſeals a few days at Paris was now ſinking into private life. On entering the court of the department, he beheld the mutilated remains of Mr. Langoiran. He was ſtruck with horror, and turning to the magiſtrates; this crime, ſays he, is owing either to your hatred, or your cowardice. To wipe off this ſtain, on the next day appeared a proclamation ſetting forth, that the crime committed on the preceding day required a ſtrong executive government; but that *they abandoned the aſſaſſins to the remorſe of their conſcience.*

The ſame day, July 14, ſo famed in the annals of the revolution, was celebrated at Limoges, by the death of Mr. Chabrol. This clergyman was a famous bone-ſetter. He was equally ſkilled in the theory, and diſintereſted in the practice, and the poor were brought to his houſe from all quarters of the kingdom. He was aſſaſſinated by men who owed him the uſe of their arms. His gigantic ſtature and athletic habit of body made him another Milo of Crotône. His temper was quick, impetuous and warm. If he may be conſidered as a martyr, his death was not characteriſed by the milder virtues which diſtinguiſhed the other confeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt. He dreaded the guilt of perjury, and refuſed to take the oath, but he was impatient

of

of the inſulting ill uſage which followed this refuſal. He had not before his eyes the meek behaviour of the divine model of martyrs, who was ſilent under the outrages of his executioners, or only opened his mouth to pray for them. He ſhewed the firmneſs of a prieſt againſt ſchiſm and hereſy; but he died like a Hercules. Three ſoldiers enter his houſe under pretence of ſearching for arms; he hears them abuſing his maid in the paſſage. For a moment he contains himſelf, makes ſuitable repreſentations on the impropriety of their behaviour, and offers them the only gun he has in the houſe. Aſtoniſhed at the tameneſs of his behaviour, one of the grenadiers thinks he may inſult him with impunity, and lifts up his arm to ſtrike him. Chabrol at that inſtant unmindful of every thing elſe, and conſcious only of his ſtrength, ſeizes the grenadier by the collar, and lays him proſtrate at his feet. One of his comrades, eager to avenge the honour of his corps, undertakes his defence; he is ſeized and levelled with the duſt. The third thus ſatisfied with the ſtrength of his antagoniſt, runs to the guard-houſe, and returns with thirty grenadiers completely armed. Chabrol lets them approach without oppoſition, and then, putting himſelf at their head, commands them to follow him to a juſtice of the peace. Here he pleads his innocence, and, to avoid farther miſchief, intreats his worſhip to let him retire through another door. The magiſtrate, intimidated by a furious mob, obliges him to face his purſuers. Chabrol ruſhes out into the middle of the ſtreet, and is preſently ſurrounded by a thouſand deſperate banditti, ſome armed with clubs, others with guns, ſabres, or knives. He receives their aſſaults, and, like a towering giant, he ſtands indignant and invincible. Some he drives before him, others he throws to the ground. One is diſarmed, and another receives the wound which was aimed at his breaſt. Chabrol's blood flows freely, and numberleſs bayonets have penetrated his fleſh, he draws them out

with his hands, and returning them into the bodies of thoſe from whom he had received them, he ſends them reeling to fall amidſt the thickeſt of the crowd. The loſs of blood weakens and exhauſts him, he falls, and the mercileſs ſcoundrels cry out, that he muſt be hoiſted to the lamp-iron. This threat provoked him, and gave him new ſtrength. He raiſes himſelf up, and ſeizing one Montégu a ſtout robuſt grenadier, throws him to a great diſtance among the aſſaſſins. But numbers muſt at length prevail; he falls a ſecond time, and expires. His laſt groan is followed by the ferocious cry of victory. The coward is always cruel, and this daſtardly mob now ſet no bounds to their inſults; they ſtrip off his clothes, and diſpute the property of his bloody caſſock torn to rags. Thoſe they carry in triumph at the end of their muſkets. The next day when a conſtitutional prieſt was waiting to perform the laſt duties over his mangled remains, two men arrived at his houſe from the country, conducted by their friends, ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of their generous benefactor, for the cure of a diſlocated arm and a broken leg. Here they learnt what encouragement was given by the convention to uſeful induſtry and a diſintereſted charity.

About this time the venerable father Dorothée d'Alençon, a capucin friar, ſuffered for the ſame cauſe, but with diſpoſitions widely different. Modeſt, edifying, meek and humble of heart, he had long been eſteemed for his zeal, and all the virtues which can adorn a religious ſtate of life, of which he continued to wear the habit after he had been driven, with his brethren, from their houſes. He ſpent the night and the day in hearing confeſſions and adminiſtering to the ſick the laſt comforts of religion. He was denounced before the municipal magiſtrates, who among other things aſked him, who are you? He anſwered, a capucin, and I have promiſed to God that I would be, and I always will be a capucin. While he was under

under examination, he heard the mob calling for his head. This animated him to a more explicit profeſſion of his faith. The magiſtrates condemned him to a few days impriſonment. The banditti had paſſed another ſentence on him. As he came out of court, he was met by a band of aſſaſſins, and aſſaulted. He appeared among them as he had done among his guards, the eaſy victim that is led to the altar without reſiſtance; the juſt man, the holy religious man, who under the axe of the executioner bleſſes the God for whom he ſuffers. Father Dorothée was firſt thrown down and dragged along the ſteps. The ruffians threw him down the ſtaircaſe; he was much bruiſed, but they ſoon put an end to his miſery. His head was now placed on the carriage of a cannon, and ſevered from his body. The populace was worked up to ſuch a frenzy, that while they carried about the head of a prieſt, who had no treaſure but his piety, no ambition but the ſalvation of ſouls, they fondly imagined they had obtained a triumph over the moſt formidable ariſtocracy.

I do not pretend to give an accurate liſt of the prieſts who were ſacrificed in popular commotions in the provinces, during the months of July and Auguſt, while a ſyſtem of more extenſive miſchief was planning at Paris. But I muſt not omit to mention the caſe of Mr. Duportail de la Binardiere, a native of St. Jouen in Perche, late curate of our Lady of Ham in the dioceſe of Mans, aged fifty-two years. He now lived with his mother who was in her ninetieth year. Bertrand an apoſtate monk of St. Maur, his ſucceſſor, took it into his head to prevail with him to countenance his perjury, or to obtain ſome mark of his approbation. Neither threats nor intreaties ſucceeded. Mr. Duportail was not a man to deceive the people by a treacherous correſpondence. The apoſtate applies to the jacobin clubs. A band of ruffians is immediately diſpatched to the houſe where Duportail reſided. The

The cries, the groans, the lamentations of the aged mother, whoſe only ſupport he was, made no impreſſion on the obdurate villains. He is dragged to the public ſquare, and there the banditti, after whetting their ſabres under his eyes, and preſenting their muſkets to the right and to the left of his neck, command him either to ſwear or to die. "I have taken other oaths to my God and my king. I will not betray them by taking yours." At that inſtant his head was ſevered from his body, and both fell to the ground.

The aſſaſſins of Mr. William de St. Martin, vicar of Marcé in the dioceſe of Séez, born at Courbe, and aged forty-nine years, ſcorned to ſtoop to the ſtale pretext of the oath to cover their hatred of the Catholic religion. They were patriots of Pont-Ecrepin and of Courteilles in the lower Normandy. They had found him in his family-houſe, and pretended that they wiſhed to conduct him to Falaiſe. They halted at Pont-Ecrepin to pay their devotions to the tree of liberty. Here they peremptorily commanded him to renounce the Pope and his religion. He anſwered; you may murder me, but I ſhall ever acknowledge the Pope to be the ſucceſſor to St. Peter and to his authority, and the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt on earth; I will live and die faithful to the Catholic religion. The ruffians meaſured their inhumanity by the gradations of his refuſal. They firſt cut off his hair, and then one of his ears. At length, levelling three muſkets at his heart, his breaſt, and his head, they call upon him for a final anſwer. He repeats it with increaſed energy. They all then fired at once, and his body fell lifeleſs at the foot of the tree of liberty, while his ſoul, freed from the incumbrance of the fleſh, mounted up to heaven, and was joyfully received by the prince of the apoſtles, whoſe ſucceſſors and whoſe rights he had ſo valiantly defended.

The

The view of the jacobins in these assassinations, was to accustom the people to see the blood of the priests flow, and to prepare them to see it flow in greater abundance. Towards the end of July, they began to find a pretext for the experiment of these horrors. Mr. Chaudet, a curate in the diocese of Rouen, but then retired to Paris, was the first victim of their wicked machinations. A groupe of loose women seeing him pass by with a cart load of leather, flew upon him as the author of the enhanced price of their shoes. He was with difficulty rescued from their hands, and conducted to the court of the section. He made it appear that the leather was the property of a shoemaker who was his relation, and had desired him to see it delivered at his warehouse. Mr. Chaudet was acquitted. But some suspicious persons, mingled in the crowd, excited the resentment of the populace, especially of that description of females well known at Paris for a boundless credulity, who having sacrificed their chastity in early youth become the bravoes of their sex, and surpass in irascibility and cruelty the tigers themselves. These vixens attacked Mr. Chaudet in his house, threw him out of the window, and murdered him as he fell.

The jacobins could not prevent the indignation of every man of honour, but they found that they might go still greater lengths without danger from the courts of law. The departments continued to imprison the non-juring priests. Two hundred were confined in the seminary of Mans, in consequence of a resolution of La Sarthe, bearing date the sixth of August. Three hundred were in the prisons of Cennes; others were confined at Nantes, at Port Louis, and in other towns. The great explosion was now hourly expected, which was to crown the efforts of rebellion and impiety.

END OF THE SECOND PART.



THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CLERGY

DURING THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

PART III.

PROPHETIC orators in the evangelical chair, and enlightened teachers of religion, in numerous publications, had long announced to France, and to the court of its monarch, the terrible truth, that the reign of impiety would not be eſtabliſhed but on the ruins of the throne, and altar. The French revolution ſeemed to have undertaken the fatal taſk of verifying this prediction. Progreſs of the double conſpiracy againſt the throne & altar.

In the firſt national aſſembly, men of the greateſt profligacy, ſuch as the elder Mirabeau; illuſtrious rebels, ſuch as Philip of Orleans; ineffective characters, fooliſhly ambitious of popular applauſe, ſuch as La Fayette; men of the blackeſt ingratitude, ſuch as the Lameths; atrocious ſouls, ſuch as the Barnaves; dark ſophiſts, and pigmy politicians, ſuch as Syeys, with the horde of Rabaud, Target and Chapellier; had impoſed on France a conſtitution, which made the monarch a valet of the communes.

In the ſame aſſembly, hypocritical tyrants, ſuch as Camus, Treillard, and d'Expilly, diſfiguring religion, and ſubjecting the goſpel, Chriſt, and his apoſtles, to the caprices

of the age, had ſubſtituted a phantom for the church, intruders for the lawful paſtors, ſchiſm for unity, for reality and truth—illuſion and error.

Far more profound profligates than theſe, more atrocious tyrants, and more monſtrous ſophiſts, the ſelected chiefs of later jacobin conſpirators, Pethion, Briſſot, Robeſpiere, Marat and Danton had confided to the firſt, only half of their deep concerted plots. The powers of the king, whoſe name even now was odious, were thus ſuffered to be gradually weakened and enervated by a conſtitution, that was afterwards to be annihilated; altars, whoſe downfal had already been planned, were plundered; and prieſts, finally doomed to deſtruction, were calumniated, and depoſed. For ten months paſt, the jacobin legiſlators, and the jacobin municipal officers were ſecretly employed in concerting meaſures for theſe new projects of the revolution. The ſame attempts, and the ſame progreſs againſt the king and clergy clearly indicated the approach of the ſame cataſtrophe, which was to give the laſt blow to the double proſcription.

Part of the new conſpiracy againſt the king.

Briſſot was ready with his Girondiſts, Vergnaux, Guadet, and Genſonnet; and had already drawn up the decrees, which were to pull down the edifice of the firſt aſſembly, and deſtroy that conſtitutional monarch, who had been placed on the throne of the ancient kings of the French. All the crimes, that were to be imputed to Lewis XVI. thereby apparently to authorize his ſuſpenſion, impriſonment, and death, were committed by thoſe very men, who were then preparing to impute them to him: who by their own avowal had committed them with the ſole view of making them afterwards fall on his head. Briſſot and his jacobins had forced the king to declare war againſt Auſtria and Pruſſia, becauſe they foreſaw, that after the Auſtrian and Pruſſian

Pruſſian armies had entered France, the king might plauſibly be accuſed of having invited them to re-eſtabliſh his former power and authority. They had fomented all the troubles in the provinces and capital, thereby wiſhing to impreſs on the minds of the people a perſuaſion, that they were never to enjoy again peace and plenty, as long as there ſhould ſit on the throne a king intereſted in the encouragement of diſcontent under the new laws; as long as France ſhould be governed by a king, too weak to be able to reſiſt, or too ambitious to wiſh to defeat the incurſions of an enemy. Briſſot and his jacobins, and eſpecially Pethion, called loudly for the downfal of Lewis XVI. as the only remedy of the evils then threatening the empire, in as much as it might lead to the formation of that convention, which was to annihilate in France even the title of a king.

The majority of the French nation diſapproved theſe proceedings. In vain did Briſſot attempt to ſound the diſpoſitions of the departments: having divided the national aſſembly, he found that a decided majority was againſt him. It was then declared, that what could not be obtained by perſuaſion ſhould be effected by violence and maſſacres. Under the ſpecious name of federiſts, ruffians from all the provinces were called up to the capital, which had been previouſly raiſed to the higheſt degree of ferment, and the day was fixed in which the laſt and fatal blow was to overturn the throne.

France then ingulphed in terror, or frantic with fury, was one day to learn the object and tendency of that complot in its general plan and execution, the moſt inſidious and atrocious that ever diſgraced the annals of wickedneſs. It was one day to be explained to the world in the writings of Briſſot, and in the public declarations of Vergnaux and Louvet, when ſucceſs having emboldened

dened theſe grand conſpirators to withdraw the veil, with which they had covered their perfidy, they gloried in the execrable atchievement. On the firſt exploſion of this new conſpiracy, the citizens of Paris ſhuddered with horror and amazement, without daring to attempt any oppoſition, whilſt the furious populace, and hired bands of ruffians were blindly led on to the perpetration of a crime, the final miſchief of which they were totally unacquainted with.

Part of the new conſpiracy againſt the clergy.

The death of the non-juring prieſts was an eſſential part of this general conſpiracy. The atrocious municipal officers had ſecretly made up catalogues of all thoſe, who were in Paris, and of thoſe eſpecially, who had been the moſt diſtinguiſhed by their zeal or writings in favour of religion. Their names, and places of abode were accurately diſtinguiſhed with the principal reaſons, for which they were to be arreſted.

The tenth day of Auguſt againſt the king.

The tenth of Auguſt was definitively fixed on to be the laſt day of the French monarchy: a day, the memory of which will always be terrible on account of the horrors, maſſacres, and carnage committed by the ruffians; and odious on account of the perfidy and wickedneſs of the conſpirators; a lengthened day of woe, humiliations, afflictions and outrages for Lewis XVI. and the Queen! An army compoſed of ſixty thouſand aſſaſſins, of national traitors, and of all the populace that was to be collected in the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, beſieged the palace of the Thuilleries. The king was driven to the neceſſity of ſeeking an aſylum in the hall of the legiſlators. Eight or nine hundred Swiſs guards, after having performed prodigies of fidelity and valour, were almoſt all ſacrificed to the fury of the aſſailants: the palace was pillaged, and all the

the houſehold put to the ſword. All the precious collections of the arts in that ancient abode of the kings fell a prey to the undiſcerning multitude: and for twelve hours theſe deluded wretches were ſo far tranſported with a ſavage rage againſt the king, his family, and all that belonged to them, that they quenched their thirſt with the blood of the expiring victims, tore out the hearts of the dead, mutilated their carcaſes, and eat their fleſh!

The aſſembly, which the king had choſen for an aſylum, was a theatre of new ſcenes of horrors and atrocities, which the malice of his enemies had prepared for him. A conſtant ſucceſſion of enraged accuſers at the bar poured in upon him a torrent of inſulting menaces and invectives. The jacobin legiſlators filled the opprobrious chalice with whatever the moſt perfidious calumny could accumulate on a monarch, whoſe misfortunes and deſtruction were the ſweeteſt of their triumphs. He was abandoned by the daſtardly conſtitutionaliſts, who joined Briſſot's faction. In his preſence were paſſed decrees that deprived him of his miniſters, and the moſt valuable rights of his crown, and which terminated in the impriſonment of him and his family, in the tower of the Temple, whence he was to be conducted to the ſcaffold.

It had been foretold, that the altar and throne would fall at the ſame time. The tenth of Auguſt was not yet paſſed, when already liſts of the biſhops, and non-juring prieſts had been delivered out from the hotel of the municipals to be diſtributed in all the ſections of Paris, with orders for the arreſting of thoſe prieſts, and impriſoning them in the church of the Carmes in the ſtreet Vangirard, or in the houſe of St. Firmin, St. Victor-ſtreet. Againſt the prieſts.

In order to reconcile the minds of the people to the ſpectacle, which theſe orders were preparing, a report was

was ſpread as early as that evening, that prieſts had been ſeen in arms, firing on the people, with the Swiſs and courtiers, that many of them, and particularly the Abbé L'Enfant, the celebrated king's preacher, were known to have been killed in that combat. The ſame evening M. l'Abbé de St. Far, who had been long abſent from Paris, was ſaid to have been taken with a falſe patrole, as alſo a certain Abbé de Bouillon, who never had an exiſtence. Some ruffians having cut off the hands and head of a dead body, carried them about as the hands and head of M. l'Abbé Ringard curate of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, crying out in the ſtreets, "Thus the nation puniſhes all refractory prieſts and traitors, who have taken up arms againſt it with the Swiſs." A month after M. l'Abbé Ringard appeared at his ſection, and demanded a paſſport. The ruffians, who had ſo boldly declared, that they had cut off his hands and head on the tenth of Auguſt, more enraged than aſtoniſhed at his appearance, drew their ſabres to chaſtiſe him for ſo public a conviction of their impoſture. Surrounded by many other aſſaſſins in his ſection, it was only by the exertions of an extraordinary firmneſs of character, and the vigorous ſupport of ſome honeſt friends, that leave was granted him to paſs over into England, where I have had the happineſs to ſee him again.

It was no longer neceſſary by means of artful impoſtures to animate the ſtupid fury of the vile populace, credulous citizens, or patriotic pikemen, againſt the catholic clergy. The ſection of Luxembourg, long diſtinguiſhed by its revolutionary zeal, was the firſt to execute the orders ſent out with the fatal liſt.

Arreſt of the Prieſts in Paris.

On the eleventh day of Auguſt that ſection aſſembled thoſe of its patriots who ſeemed to be the moſt violent againſt prieſthood, and furniſhed

furniſhed them with all neceſſary inſtructions. Several companies armed with bayonets or pikes were diſtributed in different quarters of the pariſh of St. Sulpice. They declared to the people, who were curious to know the object of their commiſſion, that they had been ſent out in ſearch of the enemies of their country: it was not long a ſecret who theſe pretended enemies were. One of the firſt, who was conducted to priſon by theſe guards was M. Dullau, archbiſhop of Arles. That prelate, generally acknowledged as one of the luminaries of France, had ſhewn from the beginning of the revolution a prudence and moderation which in all appearance ought to have ſcreened him from particular perſecution. Always in union with the ſees of other true biſhops, he had undoubtedly paid the common homage to truth; but diffident of his own ſtrength, he had never raiſed his voice on any particular occaſion. He had not even made any proteſtations in favour of a ſee ſo much revered as his had been from the primitive ages of the church; nor publiſhed one of thoſe paſtoral letters, which almoſt all the other biſhops of France had thought it their duty to addreſs to their flocks on the ſuppreſſion of their ſees, or on the intruſion of ſchiſmatics. The only work written by him during the revolution, was not publiſhed in his name, and was an addreſs to the king on the decree of the 26th of May, which baniſhed all non-juring prieſts: and there were few biſhops in France, whoſe zeal had not been more conſpicuous than that of M. Dullau. It will hereafter appear, that if he had thought it prudent to ſay little, in order not to irritate the evil-minded, that ſilence, which in the firſt inſtance might be deemed reproachable, was in him neither the effect of a culpable condeſcendence, or baſe weakneſs, and that if he had known how to be ſilent, he alſo knew how to die. On the firſt appearance of the patriots he advanced up to them with the firmneſs and tranquillity of a man, who is conſcious of the majeſty

of

of the cauſe he is to ſuffer for. He was conducted to the ſection, and confined in a hall, whither had been ſent already many prieſts that had reſided in the neighbourhood.

The public hatred no longer made the ſame diſtinction as the law, between prieſts called functionaries, that is to ſay, between thoſe employed in the miniſtry, or in public inſtructions in the pariſhes, or in the colleges, and thoſe who were not charged with thoſe functions. The national bayonet or pikemen, with the liſts in their hands, marched to the houſes marked as the reſidence of ſome nonjuring prieſts; ſeizing all indiſcriminately, they dragged them triumphantly to their priſon, the ſtupid populace accompanying them every where with as eager peals of applauſe, as if they had beholden Brunſwick's army led captive through the ſtreets. Theſe innocent and inoffenſive victims were every where inſulted and reviled; and ſeveral attempts were made by an outrageous mob to ſnatch them from the guards, and deſtroy them immedidiately. Some honeſt citizens concealed many, or gave them timely notice to fly from their purſuers. But the rage of the pretended patriots was extreme, when once they had marked their prey. They threatened the maſters of houſes, made the moſt minute reſearches in every corner, and repeated their viſits, eſpecially when the prieſt they wiſhed to take, had ſhewn any extraordinary zeal in adminiſtering the ſacraments to thoſe ſick perſons who had refuſed the adminiſtration of intruders. M. l'Abbé Phrénier, a prieſt of St. Sulpice, had been diſtinguiſhed by a zealous diſcharge of thoſe duties. Having effected his eſcape the moment before the arrival of the national guards, they carried off inſtead of him M. l'Abbe de la Pannonie: they nevertheleſs returned nine times in ſearch of M. l'Abbé Phrénier.

M. l'Abbé

M. l'Abbé Guillon was lodged in the ſame pariſh. When a young man he had given aſtoniſhing proofs of an extenſive erudition, and particularly in a work entitled *Paralléle des Revolutions :* the pikemen had been thrice at the houſe where he lodged. Miſtaking the apartment, they found another clergyman who had been long indiſpoſed, and every day expected his final diſſolution. The ruffians ſeeing the condition he was in, were moved to compaſſion, and ſuffering him to remain in his bed, they returned to give an account of what had happened. Not long after they appeared again, and even then had not reſolution enough to execute their commiſſion ; till after having repeatedly received the moſt preſſing injunctions, they returned a third time, and dragged him in that dying ſtate to his ſection.

Notwithſtanding the unwearied diligence of theſe reſearches, the extravagant rage of the ruffians was diſappointed in one of the moſt deſirable of their victims. Three days before, one of theſe profligate wretches endeavouring to raiſe a mob againſt M. de Panſemon, curate of St. Sulpice, went to his houſe, and, with a drawn ſabre demanded his head. The zealous paſtor was no longer permitted by the faithful to make his appearance, and was conveyed out of the reach of his perſecutors.

The jacobins were recompenſed for this loſs by the capture of two illuſtrious victims. The two brothers de la Rochefoucauld, one biſhop of Beauvais, and the other of Saintes, were both ſeized in their own apartments. The ruffians more zealous to arreſt M. de Beauvais, offered to liberate M. de Saintes. " Gentlemen," ſaid this worthy prelate, " I have always been united to my brother by the bonds of the moſt affectionate friendſhip, and now ſtill more by our attachment to the ſame cauſe. As a reſpect for religion, and a horror of perjury are his only crime, I am not leſs culpable. I cannot ſee him taken off

off to priſon without accompanying him: if he muſt go, take me alſo with him."

When we were Frenchmen, this language would have procured the liberty of the two brothers: in theſe degenerate and revolutionary days, both the one and the other were impriſoned. On that day forty-ſix eccleſiaſtics had been arreſted in that pariſh. As they arrived they were all conducted to the ſame hall, where they mutually congratulated each other on their being deſtined to ſuffer for the cauſe of Jeſus Chriſt In the preſence, diſcourſe, and example of the archbiſhop of Arles, they all found the greateſt comfort and ſupport. About ten o'clock in the evening they were all cited to appear at the committee of the ſection, which held its ſeſſions at the ſeminary of St. Sulpice. That houſe, where many of them had received their education, reminded them of the great principles they had there imbibed, and if the ſectaries added a new inſult to religion, by making choice of the ſeminary for a tribunal of the perſecutors of the clergy, it was a new triumph for that religion to ſee its miniſters confeſs their faith before tyrants, in that very place where they had received the earlieſt impreſſions of the moſt ſacred duties.

Arraigned before the committee, the preſident aſked them, if they had taken the oath preſcribed by the aſſembly: they all anſwered, that they had not. He then deſired to know, if any of them were willing to take it then: they all unanimouſly declared, that they could neither then, nor at any other time, take an oath that was contrary to their conſcience. The committee then ordered them to be ſeized, and confined in the church of the Carmes, Vaugirard-ſtreet, near the Luxembourg, after having ſearched them and taken away even their canes. The commiſſary Lerat ordered each of them to be conducted between two armed ſoldiers, and placed himſelf at the head of the march, anxiouſly watchful that none of them made their eſcape.

At

At the entrance of the church the ſame commiſſary called over all their names, and left the moſt rigorous orders with the ſentinels, that the priſoners ſhould not be ſuffered to have the leaſt communication with one another. Theſe orders were punctually followed. Priſon of the Carmes.

Many of theſe generous confeſſors, arreſted before dinner, had eaten nothing that day, and were kept faſting till the day after. Having no beds, they were obliged to paſs the night on chairs. A particular place was that firſt night aſſigned for the archbiſhop of Arles near the rails, and oppoſite to the chief ſentinel. They were not allowed even to kneel down and ſay their prayers. "Inſtead of pious hymns, which we wiſhed to ſing in honour of that God for whom we were ſuffering, we were under the neceſſity of hearing all that night," ſaid to me one of the priſoners, "the invectives, horrible blaſphemies, and diſguſting obſcenities of our guards. We were quietly ſeated in our chairs, without uttering one word, whilſt they amuſed themſelves in walking round us, and inſolently obſerving in our countenances the impreſſions made by their oaths and imprecations: by the grace of God we were all heedleſs of their threats. In order to give us a preſentiment of the fate we were afterwards to undergo, moſt of them went up into the tribune, and there counterfeiting the ceremonies of the church, ſung over us all the doleful tones of a maſs for the dead: pitileſs wretches! little aware that they were ſo far from alarming us by this preſage, that on the contrary it only ſerved comfortably to remind us of our greater glory and final happineſs.

"The next day was paſſed in the ſame manner. We obſerved a profound ſilence, whilſt our guards continued to pour in upon us torrents of outrages and abuſe. On Sunday we demanded of our ſection permiſſion to hear maſs. This after a long deliberation was granted: but, in

in order to moderate our joy on the occaſion, we were at the ſame time told, that in future we ſhould not be ſuffered to attend any other maſs but that of a conſtitutional prieſt. This in reality was the ſame thing as to tell us we ſhould not be allowed to attend any: for ſure they were, that we ſhould refuſe all communication with thoſe ſchiſmatical, heretical, and perjured prieſts. Permiſſion was alſo granted us to purchaſe ſome proviſions, by which we were enabled to recruit our ſpirits, not ſo much downcaſt by the want of nouriſhment and ſleep, as by the inſolent and ſavage treatment of our guards.

"On the following days we were treated with a little more humanity: we were allowed to pray and converſe together. From that moment we ſeemed to have recovered full liberty. Our time was ſpent in prayer, pious reading, and truly chriſtian converſations, in which we mutually encouraged one another to ſuffer for Jeſus Chriſt."

Theſe firſt victims collected together in the church of the Carmes, were too few to aſſuage the rage of the revolutioniſts. If there were in Paris ſome ſections, ſuch as that of the *Termes de Julien*, which refuſed to ſecond the views of Marats and Robeſpieres, by arreſting prieſts, many others there were, which were ready to follow the example of Luxembourg; and ruffians appeared every where readily diſpoſed to perform the commiſſions given them by the ſections. Sunday the 13th day of Auguſt, and the 15th the feaſt of the Aſſumption, ſeemed only to be obſerved as feaſts in Paris, in order to amuſe the people in ſeveral quarters of that immenſe capital, with the arreſting of prieſts. All the gates were moſt carefully guarded, and even thoſe perſons who ſupplied the town with daily proviſions, were with great difficulty ſuffered to go out. Some of the conſtitutional prieſts, though dreſſed

dreſſed as laymen, ſcarce durſt ſhew themſelves in the ſtreets. Thoſe who, under the cover of the night, were obliged to fly from lodgings where they did not think themſelves ſecure, were equally expoſed to the dread of numerous patroles, more zealous to arreſt a prieſt than to defend Paris againſt banditti and plunderers. During the day they were expoſed to the continual alarms of marauding companies of ruffians, whoſe precious joys were never more glutted than by the diſcovery of a prieſt.

The ſtate of Paris after the 10th of Auguſt.

The diſorders, terror, and confuſion, that at that time pervaded every quarter of Paris, preſented a moſt melancholy view. To an eye caſt over that immenſe capital, would have appeared a thouſand furies venting their rage, in a thouſand different ſhapes, on the great objects of impious hatred and malice, againſt the wrecks of the ancient monarchy and altars! In the national hall ſtood expoſed to public view the king, the queen, their ſiſter, their children with their governeſs, and a princeſs their relative, all priſoners in a lodge in the face of the rebels, reduced to the wretched neceſſity of waiting for the moment in which their deſtiny was to be determined by the conſpirators. The monſtrous ſenate was ſucceſſively paſſing from decrees given againſt the king, to decrees againſt the prieſthood. Around this den of rebellion a part of the royal palace was yet in flames, and the populace crowding from every quarter to feaſt its eyes with the crumbling ruins. Nearer to the aſſembly, and before its doors, paraded legions of furious ruffians, who with ſhouts inſulted the captive king, whilſt they hideous, were impatiently waiting for the decree, which was to aſſign the place of his impriſonment, and the moment, in which they were to enjoy new triumphs in humiliations, to which he was to be ſubjected in his march. At the ſame time on the bridges, and in all the public places, a licentious mob was employed, in pulling

pulling down and breaking to pieces all the ſtatues of the ancient kings, and every monument of former loyalty. In all the churches were to be ſeen municipal officers, and other ſatellites, compleating the deſtruction of religious eſtabliſhments, rudely driving out into the wide world the cloiſtered remnants of both ſexes; pitileſſly compelling tender and forlorn virgins, expiring with grief and alarms, to quit the abodes of their ſaintly aſylums, and to exchange their habits for a ſecular dreſs; by menaces and violences ſcarce allowing them time to recollect thoſe hoſpitable roofs, which were the moſt likely to receive them, when baniſhed from their cells. There were cannons pointed againſt the monaſteries to frighten thoſe religious women, who might refuſe to quit their houſes. Many of them were expiring with old age, others with ſickneſs, many diſtracted through fear, wandered up and down the ſtreets, others were dragged out by the ferocious national guards, and abandoned to the mercy of leſs inſenſible citizens, who received them into their hoſpitable manſions with fear and trembling, leſt they themſelves ſhould afterwards be puniſhed for not being ſavage enough to ſee thoſe pitiful objects periſh for want of an aſylum.

At the ſame time in that part of the town called St. Germain, St. Martin-ſtreet, the ſuburb St. Jacques, in St. Victor-ſtreet and neighbourhood, and in ſeveral other parts of Paris, the ruffian Marſeillois, federate Bretons, and Pariſian patriots, were flying from houſe to houſe, ſearching every corner, in order to make a diſcovery of any prieſts, and afterwards dragging them, amidſt the brutal ſhouts and outrages of an enraged populace, to the great priſon of the Carmes, or to the ſeminary of St. Firmin.

Prieſts at the committee of inſpection.

In the terrible committee of inſpection, at the mayor's hotel, formerly the hotel of the firſt preſident of Parliament, Manuel, Panis, le Gendre,

le Gendre, and all the enraged ſubalterns of impiety, preſided over all the furies launched out againſt the prieſthood. In the homicidal liſts were particularly deſcribed thoſe, whom they had recommended to the ſections to be purſued by more rigorous reſearches. The ſtupid and cruel valets of theſe new tyrants, the officers and ſectionary preſidents, followed by all their train of ſectionaries, bayonets and pikes, marched to the houſes of the eccleſiaſtics, ſeized on the perſons of thoſe who confidently waited for their arrival, made the moſt diligent ſearch after thoſe who had fled; queſtioned, perſecuted, and often confined ſervants, in order to oblige them to diſcover their maſters, and often hurried away to priſon thoſe with whom theſe laſt had lodged. The books, papers, and letters of theſe clergymen, were afterwards the particular objects of reſearches; and the ſectionaries mutually aſſiſted one another in the reading of them. A journal, or a few pamphlets written in favor of the king, or of religion, a ſingle word in a letter that indicated a ſhadow of affection to a better order of things, eſpecially the leaſt proof of any communication with emigrated friends or parents, all was carefully read over and over again, carried off, or ſealed up, and ſent to the committee of inſpection. The prieſts taken up by theſe ſectionary deputies, were ſometimes conducted to the Carmes, and ſometimes dragged to the terrible committee: there they were obliged patiently to wait in a guard-houſe of ruffians, or in out-houſes crowded with impriſoned banditti, or in garrets with no other bedding than ſtraw, and every where ſurrounded by ſentinels, there they were to wait whole days and weeks till it pleaſed the formidable committee to call for the priſoners, and after having made them undergo an interrogatory, to diſpoſe arbitrarily of their liberty, till ſuch time as they were to loſe their lives by the hatchet.

Whoever, before this committee, through inexperience or fear ſeemed the leaſt diſconcerted, were ſent to one of

thoſe

thoſe places, where victims were collected for the ſolemn day of hecatombs.

It might even then be deemed a happy incident for many prieſts to fall into the hands of thoſe terrible judges. By ſome, the indecent rigour of the perſecution was clearly proved to its agents, whilſt others became intereſting to the tribunals by the clearneſs of their defence, or by the noble confidence, with which they preſented themſelves. Thus the Manuels even, and the Panis were aſhamed of ſending to the priſon M. de Beauſſet, biſhop of Alais, when he ſaid to them: "Gentlemen, what ſtrange means then do you adopt in order to conciliate the public mind to your revolution. I have alſo lived amidſt citizens, who neither followed the ſame opinions, nor were guided by the ſame faith as myſelf. I have in my dioceſe a great number of Calviniſts: but for the love of public order and peace, I was always ſo far from being a perſecutor, that though perfectly aware, thoſe ſheep had ſtrayed from the church, I every where ſhewed them that tenderneſs, which both nature and religion impoſed on me as a duty. I rendered the Calviniſts every ſervice in my power, and exhorted my catholic flock to ſhew the ſame reſpect for men, who were our fellow citizens and brethren, notwithſtanding the difference of our worſhip. Before this revolution I had obſerved a gradual approach of union, and that the bonds of tranquillity and fraternity were daily more cemented by mutual ſervices. It ſeems to me, gentlemen, that by ſuch means I have little deſerved to be traduced before this tribunal: and you would do well yourſelves to make uſe of the ſame, in order to ſtop the troubles and diviſions, which agitate the public."

One of the judges, who fortunately had been acquainted with the biſhop of Alais, aſſured the tribunal that nothing more authentic than the account, which that prelate had given could

given of his own conduct, and the ſucceſs which it had met with. The others could not do leſs than approve this declaration, and M. de Beauſſet was honourably acquitted.

Another defence of a gentleman clergyman was of a different nature. He had been reproached with not having taken the oath for maintaining the conſtitution: "To be candid," ſaid he, "gentlemen, this conſtitution perſecutes whatever I have in the world the moſt dear: it is plundering all my family: it is driving out of the country my brothers, and my neareſt relations: it is burning their caſtles, tormenting our biſhops, and impriſoning the clergy. It precludes me from every proſpect of reſource. In vain ſhould I now take an oath to maintain it: you would not believe me to be ſincere. Far better would it be to grant me a paſſport, and that I go into another country in ſearch of a conſtitution leſs cruel to my faith and relations." The committee was diſconcerted by this unexpected confidence and candor: the clergyman obtained a paſſport, and he quitted the kingdom. Some others alſo were ſet at liberty either by the interference of friends with Manuel, or becauſe not the leaſt ſhadow of accuſation could be brought againſt them, or eſpecially becauſe it was well known that by the hands of ruffians, they could at any time rid themſelves of thoſe, whom through ſome remains of decency they durſt not formally proſcribe.

In reality the ruffians and the mob purſued all non-juring prieſts with a zeal and a rage equal to the moſt ſanguine views of impiety, eſpecially in thoſe ſections, which were unwilling, or which durſt not make any oppoſition. That of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet was ſo much under their influence, that it had taken the name of *Section des*

Sans-culottes: as that of Cordeliers had taken the name of *Marſeillois*. Thus that ſceptre, which in the beginning the conſtitutional ariſtocrats had envied the king, had paſſed into the hands of ariſtocratical citizens, who had been envious of the ariſtocracy of nobility; and latterly the ariſtocracy of the banditti and vileſt populace envied, and wreſted it out of the hands of the citizens.

Priſon of St. Firmin.

In the ſection of the *Sans-culottes*, the motion for arreſting all non-juring prieſts was received with the greateſt tranſports on Sunday the 13th of Auguſt, as alſo the project of confining them all in the ſeminary of St. Firmin, where they had already ſhut up eighteen eccleſiaſtics that had been driven from their homes, and who were ſo diligently guarded that they had no longer any proſpect of being releaſed. At eight o'clock in the morning the clergymen of St. Nicholas, not one of whom had taken the oath, were dragged with their ſeminarians to the houſe of St. Firmin: and notwithſtanding the very conſiderable and extraordinary charities, which thoſe gentlemen had done in the neighbourhood, the populace did not ſhew leſs demonſtrations of joy on their arreſt. One inſtance alone will ſuffice to prove the unbounded charity of one of thoſe prieſts, whoſe name is M. l'Abbé Bonnet. In the terrible hard winter of 1788, he had juſt diſtributed to the indigent all that he was maſter to diſpoſe of. "I have nothing more left," ſaid he to ſome women who were aſking alms of him. "You have a handkerchief as yet," ſaid they: "it is in your hand: "Well there it is, take it. I may now more truly ſay, that I have nothing more of my own." The mob afterwards returned thrice to take up this prieſt.

The ſuperior of the ſame community M. Andrieux was cited before the ſection. On his arrival among the former companions of his labours, and the young ſeminarians, the

the court of St. Firmin crowded with men, women and children of the populace re-echoed with ſhouts of a ſavage joy. One man was diſtinctly heard above all the reſt to cry out; "Make them over to me: and this very day I will diſpatch them all with my hatchet."

At three o'clock on the ſame day more ſavage howlings announced the arrival of a more diſtinguiſhed booty. Fifty men armed with bayonets or pikes were hurrying away all the prieſts of the houſe called *des Noveaux Convertis*. At the head of all theſe priſoners was the venerable father Guérin Durocher, known by his *Hiſtoire Veritable des Tems Fabuleaux*, which had aſtoniſhed all the learned by the prodigious erudition, with which it was replete. All thoſe acquainted with this worthy author, diſcovered in him ſomething more ſurprizing, than this immenſe fund of learning; which was joined with ſo much modeſty and humility, that the man of letters ſeemed entirely concealed under the veil of ſimplicity. One ſoul gained to God by his catechiſms was a thouſand times more dear to him, than all the reputation he had acquired, and of which he alone ſeemed ignorant. In common converſation he appeared to be a man of no extraordinary merit. Much art was neceſſary to call forth his extenſive knowledge, and that only was to be effected, when he was unaware of exciting any degree of admiration. When this ſucceeded, and the diſcourſe turned on any ſubject of learned antiquity, a torrent of the moſt profound diſcuſſions flowed from his mouth, as from their natural ſource, but with the ſame tone and the ſame eaſe with which he would have treated the moſt familiar queſtions.

On that day he appeared for the firſt time to depart from his ordinary coſtume of humble ſimplicity. In a caſſock and long gown, as on a day of ſome ſolemn feaſt, he

marched with a conſcious dignity at the head of the reſpectable confeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt, who were conducted away with him. By his ſide walked his elder brother, a fellow jeſuit, and lately returned from the eaſtern miſſions with a fund of learning, in the eſtimation of many, equal to that of his younger brother. The ſavage ſpirit of the revolution has deprived the world for ever of a moſt valuable collection of letters, which he was then preparing for publication, on the manners, religion, and antiquity of thoſe regions which he had travelled through both as a man of letters and as an evangeliſt.

With theſe two learned men arrived many other prieſts, ſome of whom had been ſeized in their own houſes, ſome in the abbey of St. Victor, and others in the foundling hoſpital, where they had ſpent many years in the charitable employs of that eſtabliſhment. With them alſo another prieſt M. l'Abbe Laveze, whoſe greateſt comfort had been for ten years to aſſiſt the ſick and dying of the hotel Dieu. A refuſal to take the oath precluded him from thoſe pious functions: and he was forced to quit that houſe, where his zeal and charity had been of ſo ſingular a ſervice to the lower claſs of people. The amiable goodneſs of his character had preſerved him ſome friends even among the jacobins of the Vivarais, and his countrymen then at Paris, acquainted with the machinations againſt all Catholic prieſts offered him a ſafe retreat at their own lodgings. Apprehenſive of their ſolicitations to make him take the conſtitutional oath, he choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to martyrdom than to the dangers of ſeduction.

Among theſe confeſſors, many of whom I had the honor to be acquainted with, I ſhall diſtinguiſh M. l'Abbè

l'Abbé Copene, a young prieſt of a diſtinguiſhed family in Guyenne. With all the dignified ſentiments of our valiant knights, he ſaid to thoſe who talked to him about the conſtitutional oath. "The Copenes have never "forfeited their word of honour. I have given mine to "God and my king: and I will religiouſly obſerve it." This he faithfully did though reduced to a ſtate of the greateſt diſtreſs. He was confined with a mortal fever, when the pike-men entered his houſe towards the end of Auguſt. On their appearance I think I ſee him rallying all the ſtrength and dignity of his mind, and ſaying to the ruffians, "It is in order to ſhut me up with the prieſts that you are come to take me away: let us go, I will follow you. A Copene muſt die in the bed of honour." The ſtrength of his body was not equal to that of his mind. Waſted to a mere ſkeleton, and in vain attempting to walk, the ſavages dragged him. On his arrival at the ſeminary they were obliged to put him to bed; and he lived long enough, as he had deſired, to be aſſured that his laſt breath evinced the moſt perfect fidelity to his God and his king.

There was alſo in the ſame houſe M. l'Abbé Gros, curate of the pariſh in which ſtood that priſon of the prieſts. Few paſtors had greater claims to the reſpect and love of their people; and few have experienced a return of more ingratitude and inſult. M. Gros was a man, whoſe natural goodneſs and open countenance baniſhed every idea of duplicity and deceit, and challenged the confidence of every beholder. He loved his pariſhioners, and eſpecially his poor, with the ſame tender compaſſion with which a good father cheriſhes his children. He was one of thoſe characters that would ſometimes ſacrifice duty to love of peace, if not checked by the ſuperior dictates of religion. An exceſs of complaiſance to his pariſhioners had almoſt

betrayed

betrayed him into an error under the firſt aſſembly. After having ſigned with the right ſide the declaration of the 13th of April, 1790, in favour of the catholic religion, he was cited to the tribunal of his ſection, where he was reproached with this as a proof of his ariſtocracy, and hatred of the people. Though perſecuted by ſuſpicions ſo foreign to his genuine ſentiments, he did not however diſſemble the reſolution he had taken to live and die in the catholic religion: but not regarding the public declaration he had made with thoſe who were accounted enemies of the people as abſolutely neceſſary, he had conſented to have his name eraſed from thoſe ſignatures. This was a weakneſs, and a ſort of apoſtaſy wreſted from him under a vain pretext. Honeſt and generous ſouls may occaſionally be guilty of faults; but they are incapable of long withſtanding the ſting of remorſe, or perſiſting in known evil. M. l'Abbé Gros was aware, that his complaiſance had been conſtrued into a defection, and that he had not purchaſed peace with the ſectionaries but at the expence of a ſcandal:—he knew how to repair it. Immediately after the national aſſembly had ſignified by a public act its indignation againſt the paſtoral letter of the biſhop of Toulon in ſupport of the catholic faith, M. l'Abbé Gros, in order to make a reparation for the fault he had been guilty of, in open defiance of incurring the anger of the legiſlators, mounted into the tribune, and had the reſolution to make there the following harangue.

"Gentlemen, they have acquainted you, that I had retracted my adherence to the declaration of the minority in favour of the Catholic religion. I did, it is true, on account of ſome trouble, that which both prudence and my love of peace had repreſented to me as juſtifiable. At preſent ſeeing the inutility of thoſe conceſſions, which I believed could be made to peace and tranquillity; and that

that the meaſures I had adopted in favour of religion have not had the effect I expected, I am under the neceſſity of declaring to you, Gentlemen, that I never have forgotten what I owed to God, whoſe miniſter I have the happineſs to be, or to my pariſh, whoſe curacy I am honoured with. I beg you may conſider my name as if it had never been withdrawn from the liſt of thoſe who ſigned that declaration, or that I may be allowed irrevocably to ſign it again.

The jacobins never pardoned theſe courageous efforts in favour of religion. The ſolemn act of M. l'Abbé Gros brought on a load of perſecutions, which he boldly ſuffered to the end of his life with all that firmneſs which he had promiſed never to depart from again.

From the 13th of Auguſt to the 2d of September the number of eccleſiaſtics confined in St. Firmin was ninety-two. As they were brought in, ſeals were placed on their lodgings and effects. All intercourſe was ſtopped between them and their friends. They were lodged in the chambers of the two galleries of the new building: and at the extremity, and in the middle of each gallery, were placed three ſentinels, to hinder all communication between the two ſtories. The only perſon who had free acceſs to them, in order to provide neceſſaries, was l'Abbé Boulangier, procurator of the houſe. The ſection furniſhed nothing, and would not allow them to ſend for any of their moſt neceſſary effects. M. Boulangier was enabled by the the generous and charitable donations of the faithful of the pariſh to maintain theſe perſecuted confeſſors of their faith.

The life of the prieſts in the priſon of the Carmes.

The prieſts in the church of the Carmes from the firſt week crowded together to the number of a hundred and twenty, ſuffered

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ſtill greater diſtreſs, till the faithful at laſt were allowed to ſupply them with the firſt neceſſaries of life. They had paſſed two days and two nights on their chairs without any beds. Many of thoſe brought in at every hour of the day and night were decrepid with old age or infirmities, and many had been reduced to a ſtate of indigence, which had deprived them of all means of ſubſiſtence. Their diſtreſſed ſituation moved to compaſſion one of thoſe ſectionaries, who till then had been a moſt outrageous promoter of their impriſonment. Through his mediation the guards were ordered to let paſs whatever was brought to the priſoners, after ſufficient precautions had been taken to prevent the introduction of arms. He even himſelf ſolicited the charitable aſſiſtance of the neighbouring houſes. Theſe entreaties were very unneceſſary with the faithful, who from the beginning had been in the greateſt affliction on account of the forlorn ſituation of the confeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt, and impatiently waited for the moment in which they might be allowed to relieve them. This permiſſion once granted, beds, linen, and every article of comfortable nouriſhment were carried in abundance to the church of the Carmes. Orders were given at a cook's ſhop to furniſh all thoſe, who had not wherewith to pay themſelves, with a regular dinner and ſupper: and a lady of faſhion, who would never ſuffer her name to be mentioned, undertook to provide conſtantly for twenty of the priſoners as long as they ſhould be confined. With the ſame zeal, friends went to viſit their friends, and to comfort them at thoſe times, when viſits were allowed: many perſons without having any acquaintance, reſorting to this place of confinement, were all edified with the virtuous and peaceable conduct of the priſoners: and the church of the Carmes might then truly be ſaid to reſemble the catacombs of the primitive Chriſtians.

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On the pavement of a church of moderate dimenſions, ſo crowded with mattreſſes that many were neceſſarily ſpread on the ſteps of the altar, repoſed theſe pious clergymen with far more tranquillity than their perſecutors on beds of down: and whenever an idea of the arrival of their executioners preſented itſelf, it was ſo far from troubling their reſt, that they went to ſleep with more tranquillity in the comfortable expectation of awaking in the manſions of God, and the ſociety of the bleſſed in heaven. At the dawn of day, their hearts raiſed up to heaven, they all adored on their knees the providence of that God, who had made choice of them to give teſtimony of him, and with the moſt grateful acknowledgment for the ſpiritual ſuccours he had beſtowed upon them, the only and laſt favour they requeſted of heaven was the grace of a final perſeverance. They were denied the comfort of celebrating the ſacred myſteries; but their piety conſoled them in this diſappointment by an union of their prayers at the ſame hour to thoſe of the maſs celebrated in Rome by the firſt of pontiffs. At every hour of the day a great part of them proſtrated before the altar converted their priſon into a temple of perpetual adoration. They were no longer there that clergy, whoſe tepidity had been the reproach both of earth and heaven. They were truly the prieſts of the Lord. Their converſation, after theſe fervent prayers were over was the converſation of ſaints. They entertained each other with the happineſs they enjoyed in being impriſoned for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt: and impreſſed on their minds more forcibly that comfortable idea by pious lectures.

When the hour of repaſt was come, there was a ſtrange contraſt: on one ſide appeared ſavage ſoldiers, ſome of whom were buſy in examining the victuals that were brought, ſearching with their ſabres both the bread and

meats, and even the broth of the ſick, in order to make a diſcovery of any letters or inſtruments of death, whilſt others were parading round the tables with their pikes: on the other ſide our holy confeſſors ſmiling at the precautions taken to keep arms from them, who gloried and felt a particular comfort in their captivity, and at the ſame time all endeavouring to pleaſe one another by mutual tenders of civility, whilſt a joy, ſweet joy enlivened every countenance, and impreſſed on the minds of the ſpectators the holy banquets of the primitive ſaints.

The civic phyſician thought it neceſſary they ſhould be allowed to take a little freſh air, in order to prevent a contagious diſtemper, which ſo many men ſhut up night and day might occaſion. They were accordingly allowed to walk in the garden an hour in the morning, and another in the evening: ſometimes all together, ſometimes divided, as they were directed by the caprices of their guards. Theſe walks were alſo turned to holy purpoſes. Many at the bottom of the garden retired to a ſmall oratory dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin Mary, where whilſt their bodies were refreſhed by breathing a purer air, they ſolicited new graces to ſtrengthen their ſouls through the interceſſion of the queen of martyrs. Others either read the ſcripture, or their breviary, or converſed on pious ſubjects. When their time was elapſed, they all with a joyful reſignation returned to their priſon, if the houſe of God could be accounted a priſon by ſuch confeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt.

On their return their names were all called over, and by the manner in which they anſwered, it was eaſy to diſcover, that inſtead of wiſhing to eſcape, they eſteemed themſelves happy in the trial that was made of their faith.

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As their guards were frequently relieved, they did not always meet with the ſame ſeverity of treatment. They had ſometimes the national Pariſian guards, at other times ruffians, or pretended patriots, who had honoured themſelves with the title of *Sans Culottes*. The firſt ſeemed to be guided by ſome principles of humanity, whilſt the others, ferocious and ſavage by education, no leſs than by character, were almoſt deſpotically cruel. The groſſeſt injuries, menaces, and the rudeſt denial were in their eſtimation ſo many proofs of their love of their country. So ſenſible indeed was the difference, that the priſoners begged they might not be viſited by their friends on thoſe days on which theſe laſt mounted guard, wiſhing to be the ſole witneſſes of the atrocities and cruelties practiſed on them by ſuch ruffians.

Notwithſtanding, ſometimes thoſe even, who at firſt had preſented themſelves with the moſt terrible countenances, were ſoftened in behalf of men, whom they ſaw ſupporting ſo many injuſtices and outrages, with a reſignation, patience, and ſerenity of mind, that announced ſomething more than innocence alone. "I have ſeen ſome of them," ſaid to me, M. l'Abbé de la Pannonie, "who not able to diſſemble their compaſſion, ſpoke highly againſt the injuſtice of our impriſonment. Many times I deſired them to be more prudent: that our deſtiny was not ſo much to be bewailed as they imagined: and that our greateſt affliction was in the recollection of thoſe unmerited calumnies which had been every where ſpread among the people, whoſe beſt friends we had always been. I added, that it was our duty to ſuffer patiently thoſe calumnies for the love of God: that we well knew that a hatred of our religion was the only cauſe that induced the impious to declare us to be enemies of the people.

people. Many of the national guards ſtood not in need of theſe anſwers to be convinced of our innocence: and after having lamented our ſituation, they lamented their own in being unjuſtly compelled to guard us in priſon."

Among thoſe priſoners the moſt diſtinguiſhed undoubtedly were the three prelates, the archbiſhop of Arles, whom public eſteem had made reſpectable even to impiety, and the two de la Rochefoucaults, who by blood were connected with all that was great in France: all three in the gloom of their priſon enjoying that ſweet and pure tranquillity, which ſeemed to encreaſe in proportion as the ſtorms of outrage thickened upon them.

Many times was it propoſed to the archbiſhop of Arles to employ the influence of his friends, and to plead his daily increaſing infirmities in favour of being removed at leaſt to his own houſe. "No," ſaid he, "I find myſelf too well here, and in too good company." He was ſo much reconciled to his ſituation, that he would never received any particular indulgence, but if ever he claimed any privilege of dignity, it was in his inſiſting that every priſoner ſhould be provided with all neceſſaries in preference to himſelf. On the third night of his confinement he had not been provided with a bed: and on no conſideration could he then be prevailed upon to accept one, becauſe, after having counted the mattreſſes, he had diſcovered that his would be wanted for a new priſoner. His converſation daily renewed the chriſtian courage of the prieſts, whilſt his piety and patience filled them with admiration. The atrocious guards ſeeing him pre-eminent in dignity, particularly diſtinguiſhed him by outrages and abuſe: the wretches could make no impreſſion on his ſoul. Uninfluenced by contempt,

tempt, haughtineſs, or malice, he was concentrated in Jeſus Chriſt delivered up into the hands of an impious and inſolent ſoldiery: he ſuffered ſilently, and his happineſs ſeemed to increaſe with his ſufferings.

A brutiſh guard was one day particularly outrageous: ſitting down by the ſide of this worthy prelate, he poured out upon him a torrent of the coarſeſt ſarcaſms and vileſt railleries. He congratulated him on the noble figure he would make under the guillotine; and ſtanding up he ſaluted him in the moſt reſpectful manner, and then with the moſt pointed and inſolent deriſion accoſted him with the title of Lord, and the other titles of nobility and diſtinction, which the aſſembly had aboliſhed. The patient prelate made no reply. The ſoldier ſeating himſelf again by him, lighted his pipe, and whiffed the ſmoak in his face. The archbiſhop continued ſtill ſilent, till feeling himſelf to ſicken with the loathſome ſmell of the tobacco, he contentedly changed his ſituation. The ſavage followed him again, and did not put an end to this cruel ſport, till his obſtinacy was defeated by the patience of M. Dullau. This great man was ſo perfect a maſter of all the motions of his ſoul, and ſo ready on all occaſions to deliver it up to God, that at midnight, when one of the priſoners having been alarmed by a ſudden noiſe ſtarted from his ſleep and cried out, "My Lord, ſee, there are the aſſaſſins;" he anſwered with the greateſt tranquillity, "Well, if God demands our lives, we muſt be ready to make the ſacrifice;" and without ſaying any thing more compoſed himſelf to ſleep again.

The biſhops of Saintes and Beauvais equally edified and encouraged their fellow-priſoners. The firſt had preſerved all his natural gaiety in this voluntary captivity.

With

With a ſmile and ſerenity of countenance, which inſpired confidence, he and his brother received and attended all the new priſoners with a benevolence and attention, which ſoon made them forget the diſtreſs of their ſituation. "I no longer thought of what I had to ſuffer," ſaid to me one of thoſe confeſſors, when confined at the Carmes I ſaw the biſhop of Saintes approach me with an air of gaiety and tranquillity, which made me doubt of his being one of the priſoners. The two young curates Meſſrs. Auzurel and Fronteau ſhewed every where the ſame attention. One of the objects which moſt ſtruck me in that priſon, if a church rendered venerable by the preſence of ſo many confeſſors of Jeſus Chtiſt can be ſtiled a priſon, was the religious ſilence obſerved by our prieſts amidſt the ſcandalous and tumultuous confuſion of their guards: it was alſo the ſight of a great number of thoſe prieſts habitually on their knees before the altar, and there rendering to the divinity the homage of cherubims, whilſt the impious ſoldiery made the church reſound with the blaſphemies of devils.

The priſoners at the Carmes.

Amidſt the holy exerciſe of all theſe virtues they were ſometimes interrupted by alarms, which ſeemed to announce to the priſoners, that their laſt hour was come. One day particularly they heard afar the ſhouts of a numerous mob, and ſome reports of muſkets mixed with their howling fury. The noiſe approached, and the fatal *ça ira*, that ſong of death was diſtinctly heard. Our confeſſors no longer doubted of their being the deſtined victims. From every part of the church all run to the ſanctuary, where falling on their knees they confided themſelves to the protection of the queen of martyrs, and offered to God the ſacrifice of their lives. The church door opened—they were venerable prieſts, octogenary curates, ſuperannuated profeſſors and

and preachers torn from the aſylum of old age: it was the whole houſe of St. Francis of Sales, founded for the retreat of eccleſiaſtics worn out with labour and years, and whom the national guards of Finiſtere were then dragging to priſon. Together with thoſe reſpectable old men, the ſame eſcort and rage led captive all the young levites prepared for the houſe of the Lord in the manſion of St. Sulpice, with their directors. It is impoſſible ſays M. de la Pannonie, to expreſs our feelings at the ſight of thoſe venerable old men. Many were unable to ſupport themſelves; and the abuſe they had met with on the road filled us with horror. There was one in particular, whoſe infirmities had made it impoſſible for him to keep equal pace with his cruel conductors: him they had driven on, and bruiſed in a moſt ſhocking manner with their muſkets. Recovered from our terrors we haſtened to give every aſſiſtance in our power to our new gueſts, and we were abundantly repaid by the great examples which thoſe pious ſolitaries afforded us. The ſerenity of their countenances, their patience and reſignation were powerful motives of encouragement to us. They thanked God for having prolonged their years, that they might have an occaſion of ſhedding their blood in proof of their faith.

Decree of the aſſembly for baniſhing the prieſts.

Before the end of the month of Auguſt the number of thoſe confeſſors was increaſed by all thoſe prieſts whom the ruffians had found in the houſe of the *Eudiſtes*, and by many others brought from every quarter of Paris.

The national legiſlators were well acquainted with all theſe acts of violence: but far from oppoſing them, they legally completed the abolition of the clergy. Free from the

the obſtacles of the royal veto, they renewed a former decree againſt the clerical dreſs, and were afterwards employed in deviſing means whereby to rid themſelves for ever of their perſons. On the 26th of Auguſt they paſſed the following decree.

"All eccleſiaſtics, who having ſubjected to an oath preſcribed by the law of the 26th of December, 1790, and by another of the 17th of April, 1791; have not taken it, or who after having taken it, have retracted it, and perſiſted in the retractation, ſhall be bound to abandon the diſtrict and department of their reſidence, and in a fortnight to quit the kingdom.

"Conſequently all and every one of them ſhall appear before the directory of the diſtrict, or the municipality of their reſidence, in order to make a declaration of the foreign country to which they mean to retire, and they ſhall be immediately provided with a paſſport containing this declaration, a deſcription of their perſons, the route they mean to take, and the time within which they muſt be out of the kingdom.

"After a fortnight the nonjuring eccleſiaſtics, who ſhall not have conformed to the preceding regulations, ſhall be baniſhed to the French Guyane. The directories of diſtricts ſhall cauſe them to be arreſted, and conducted from one ſtation to another to the nigheſt ſea-ports, which ſhall be aſſigned to them by the executive proviſional council. This ſhall conſequently iſſue out the neceſſary orders for equipping and victualling the ſhipping neceſſary for tranſporting the ſaid eccleſiaſtics.

Thoſe

"Thoſe thus tranſported, or thoſe who will voluntarily leave the kingdom in the execution of the preſent decree, enjoying neither penſions nor revenue, ſhall each of them receive daily three livres in conſideration of a ten leagues journey, as far as the place of their embarkation, or the frontiers of the kingdom, for their ſubſiſtence during their route. Theſe expences ſhall be defrayed out of the public treaſury, and advanced by the diſtricts.

"Every eccleſiaſtic who ſhall have remained in the kingdom after having made a declaration to quit it, and obtained a paſſport, or ſhall return after having quitted it, ſhall be ſentenced to ten years impriſonment.

"From the preceding regulations are excepted all infirm perſons, whoſe infirmities ſhall have been ſufficiently ſtated by an officer of health, who ſhall have been appointed by a council general of the commune: as alſo all ſexagenaries, whoſe ages alſo ſhall have been clearly ſtated.

"All the eccleſiaſtics who ſhall be included in the preceding article, ſhall be collected in the chief place of the department in a houſe of community, ſubject to the direction and police of the municipality."

By the tenor alſo of this decree all other nonjuring eccleſiaſtics, whether ſecular or regular prieſts, clerks in minor orders, or lay brothers without any exception or diſtinction, although not ſubjected to the oath by the laws of the 26th of December, 1790, or of the 27th of April, 1791, were to conform to the preceding regulations, whenever by any exterior acts they ſhould have occaſioned any troubles recognized by the adminiſtrative bodies, or when

when their baniſhment ſhould be demanded by ſix domiciliated citizens in the ſame department. Thus the aſſembly, which by the decrees of the 29th of December, 1791, and of the 26th of May, 1792, had made a diſplay of diſintereſtedneſs in the concerns of religion with regard to the oath which it exacted from the clergy, diſdained any longer to have recourſe to the ſame artifices. It then openly declared that that part of the conſtitution which particularly belonged to the clergy, ſhould be enforced: a conſtitution declared by the ſovereign pontiff to be an aſſemblage of ſchiſm, hereſy and impiety, for the evident purpoſe of deſtroying all religion.

Thus the refuſal of that oath of perjury and apoſtaſy, continued to be the true cauſe of all the perſecutions raiſed againſt the catholic clergy.

Thus at the ſame time that thouſands of jacobins perſecuted every where without diſtinction all nonjuring eccleſiaſtics, the aſſembly which before at leaſt had exacted the votes of twenty active citizens for the baniſhment of each of theſe latter, had no longer recourſe to the ſame pretext for the expulſion of all the catholic clergy employed in public functions. All the others were to be left to the mercy of an unprincipled requiſition or caprice of ſix jacobins.

There is every reaſon to believe that providence only permitted this new exceſs of ſeverity, and that ſole refuge to an oath of apoſtaſy, to remove from the cauſe of the eccleſiaſtics every pretext of ariſtocracy in the perſecutions which they ſuffered: and that it might not poſſibly any longer be denied, that the real cauſe of perſecution was in the prieſts, their fidelity to the laws of their conſcience

conſcience, and in their enemies the hatred of the true religion.

True cauſe of the impriſonment of the prieſts.

This new decree was far from being ſatisfactory. The atrocity of pretended philoſophers was one day to be unmaſked, and the world was to be thoroughly acquainted with that toleration, which they had demanded for ſo many years as the maſterpiece of human wiſdom. Their pride was to be humbled by ſucceſſive developements of a ferocious hatred of God, the prieſthood and of royalty. That wiſh of Diderot, the father of modern impiety, was yet to be realized: "When ſhall I ſee the laſt of kings ſtrangled "with the entrails of the laſt of prieſts." This infernal hatred paſſed entire from the heart of Diderot into that of Condorcet: from the heart of Condorcet into that of Manuel, Robeſpierrre, Panis, and of all the municipals of the great club, and of all the grand maſters of the jacobins. For all theſe alſo ſtyled themſelves philoſophers, and all ſpoke the language of univerſal humanity and toleration, and of lights which they were to diffuſe through all mankind—of the empire of philoſophy—of the ſupreme reaſon which was to be ſubſtituted for the reign of religion, of ſuperſtition—of the worſhip of the altars, and of the ſceptres of ſovereigns. Condorcetiſm was a real ſect, which was united to all the others in the kingdom for the purpoſes of effecting a revolution. It had firſt planned the plundering, robbing and ſcourging the prieſts, and afterwards raiſing againſt them both pikes and hatchets. The aſſurance of impunity had baniſhed all ſhame of making martyrs: and the time was come, wherein Heaven to humble the ſophiſts, expoſed the rage which had been concealed by their pride, and ſhewed their hearts to be hearts of Cannibals: and the univerſe was at laſt to

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be convinced, that between the ſchool of Condorcet and that of Jourdan, the only difference was that between a workman and his tool, between Tiberius and his executioners.

All ſorts of victims were ready. A moſt diligent ſearch was made for the few royaliſts that had remained in Paris With a ſtill more envenomed rage the jacobins ſought the deſtruction of thoſe conſtitutionaliſts, who had exterminated the royaliſts. Under the pretext of procuring arms, domiciliary viſits had been employed to anſwer the purpoſe of ſeizing all the known friends of Fayettiſm, fooliſh zealots of a baſtard conſtitution, which was always deteſted by the jacobins for no other reaſon, than that it maintained the ſhadow of a king. The Hotel de la Force, the Conciergerie, the Abbey, and all the other priſons of Paris were filled with thoſe conſtitutionaliſts, whom God had doomed to puniſhment for their hypocritical rebellion againſt the throne, by raiſing up againſt them rebels of the moſt deſperate audaciouſneſs and rage.

Providence had other views on one hundred and eighty of its prieſts crowded together in the church of the Carmes, on ninety-two ſhut up at St. Firmin, and on forty or fifty others in different priſons, who all were to undergo the ſame fate. At a time, when impiety plumed itſelf in the deſtruction of the empire of faith, heaven offered a ſpectacle of that faith, which challenged the admiration of the univerſe by the conſtancy of its martyrs.

When the aſſembly had paſſed the decree for the baniſhment of the prieſts, Manuel aſſembled the ſecret council

council of the municipals. With Marat, Panis, Legendre, and a municipal conforming prieſt, he deliberated on this decree, and found it too mild. In lieu of baniſhment they pronounced death. The executioner was ſent for: and being aſked, how many heads he could take off in a day with the guillotine, it is ſaid, he anſwered, five or ſix hundred. "In that caſe," ſaid the municipals, "we have no further need of you." That method of execution ſeemed to them too ſlow. What however appears to be well authenticated, is, that the municipal conforming prieſt ſaid in going out of the council: "We have juſt taken a terrible but neceſſary reſolution." The apoſtate was right: for in order to deſtroy religion it was neceſſary to deſtroy all its true prieſts.

Manuel went to the church of the Carmes: and there caſting his eyes around on all the victims, he conſidered and counted them. Among the priſoners was a layman by name Duplain, who had been charged with the crime of having beſtowed ſome praiſe on the conſtitution. This journaliſt had frequently expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the peaceable reſignation and tranquillity of the prieſts. "I ſee clearly," ſaid he, "that there is ſomething extraordinary in all this. We do not ſuffer for the ſame cauſe." Conſcious that his cauſe was very different from that of the martyrs, he had written to Manuel, and had ſent his wife to Pethion. By theſe protections he at laſt obtained his liberty. The blood that was to be ſpilt at the Carmes, was to be, without any alloy, that of true martyrs. The pretext made uſe of by Manuel to viſit the Carmes was to examine the cauſe of that journaliſt. When their converſation was over, one of the prieſts named M. Salins, a Canon of Couzerans, went up to the municipal officer, and deſired to know if he had fixed on any

any term to their impriſonment, and what was the crime for which they had been committed. Manuel anſwered: "You have all been previouſly acquainted with the purpoſes.—You are to be tried by a jury: but they have begun with the greateſt criminals; you will be called in your turn. You are not ſuſpected to be all equally guilty: the innocent ſhall be releaſed."

Mr. Salins perſiſted in wiſhing to be acquainted with the nature of the crime, for which they were to be tried: and afterwards pointing out to Manuel the old ſolitaries of St. Francis of Sales he ſaid: "If you accuſe us of conſpiracies, ſee and examine—thoſe perſons there, have they not the appearance of formidable conſpirators?" Manuel was diſconcerted and only replied: "Your baniſhment is reſolved on. We are now concerting the neceſſary meaſures for putting it into execution: the ſexagenaries and infirm are to be confined together in ſome public building. I came hither to be informed, if you knew any more proper than that of Port-royal. When that ſhall be filled, we will ſhut the gate, and place over it this epitaph: *Here lie the ci-devant clergy of France.* With regard to the other priſoners, thoſe *who ſhall be acquitted by the jury*, ſhall be allowed liberty and time to ſettle their own private concerns agreeably to law. Means muſt be adopted for inſuring to them a penſion: for it would be *inhuman* to baniſh them from their own country, and make them become a charge to another, without making them ſome allowance for ſubſiſtence."

Thus were the victims entertained with a confidential converſation by that very man, who had already pronounced againſt them judgment of death. Their walks in the garden had been interrupted for ſome days: he gave orders that they ſhould be continued again. On the Wedneſday preceding the day of the fatal cataſtrophe, Manuel

Manuel again appeared among them in the garden, and ſeemed to examine every thing around him with great attention. Several prieſts addreſſed themſelves to him again with the ſame confidence and ſimplicity. He told them that the decree relative to their baniſhment had been paſſed by the municipality, and that it would be legally notified to them next day. He added, "You muſt quit the department within the time preſcribed by the law. You will thereby be gainers, and ſo ſhall we. You will enjoy your worſhip in tranquillity, and we ſhall no longer live in apprehenſions of it. If we ſuffered you to remain in France, you would do as Moſes:—You would lift up your hands to heaven whilſt we fought."

Some of the priſoners begged to know, if they would be allowed to take with them any of their effects. The anſwer Manuel made was: "Be not ſolicitous about that, you will at all events be richer than Jeſus Chriſt, who had not a place whereon to reſt his head."

Theſe aſſertions of a man, who a little before had ſpoken to the prieſts about a jury, by which they were to be tried, and then talked of nothing but a general baniſhment without any trial: of a man, who had promiſed a penſion to all, and who then would not allow them to provide themſelves with common neceſſaries for a voyage: of a fool, who was not able to diſſemble the fears and alarms, which an apprehenſion of the prayers of thoſe he was perſecuting had cauſed: thoſe ſarcaſms, thoſe nonſenſical ſallies betrayed, in ſpite of all the ferocity of Manuel's character, the confuſion and embarraſſment of a tyrant, who was wantonly eager to load his victims with cruel abuſe before the hour of ſacrifice. The decree of the municipality ought at leaſt to have been made known to them

them the day, on which it was fixed on in Paris. On Friday the municipal officers had not ſent it to the Carmes. Many of the confined prieſts could not be induced to believe that Manuel meant ſo ſhamefully to deceive them: whilſt others diſcovered, or at leaſt much ſuſpected all the cruelty of a project, which a maſk of apparent honeſty ill concealed on the countenance of that villain.

The archbiſhop of Arles, and the two biſhops of Saintes and Beauvais ordered their ſervants, who were permitted to be with them, not to return next morning without having diſcharged their debts, and that they were to bring receipts for thoſe they had paid. Thoſe who were the moſt unwilling to receive theſe payments, ſuch as M. l'Abbé Gautier, to whom was offered from the biſhop of Arles the ſum of eighteen livres; the taylor of the ſame prelate, who ſeemed much hurt, and proteſted he could not receive payment whilſt his lordſhip was in thoſe neceſſitous circumſtances; thoſe and all the others were obliged to receive their money, not to diſtreſs their venerable debtors.

On the ſame day a more ſiniſter preſage might have induced the prieſts to ſuſpect, that they had little reaſon to expect to be liberated. The very moment of their arrival at the Carmes they had been ſearched with the greateſt precaution, and had not been ſuffered to keep with them any ſharp inſtrument, not even a penknife or ſciſſars. At dinner only fourteen knives were brought for ſo great a number of perſons; and particular care was taken that not one remained after they had done. The beds eſpecially, and all other corners were diligently ſearched for arms. On that day thoſe ſearches were not only repeated twice more than uſual, but the church was ſtripped of every thing belonging to divine ſervice, even of the crucifix over the altar. Not being able to take down that which

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was in the right-hand chapel; a ruffian broke it to pieces. The prieſts afterwards having diſcovered a wooden one, which had eſcaped the obſervation of the plunderers, they placed the auguſt ſymbol of their redemption on the high altar, as the ſtandard of the faith for which they were impriſoned, and of that God, who, they were confident, would either deliver them from their diſtreſs, or afford them grace to die for his name.

Repleniſhed with this confidence in a crucified God, they had all together paid him their general and uſual homage before the hour of reſt; and were peaceably repoſed under the knife that was to ſpill their blood, when they were awakened by a new trait of the moſt perfidious diſſimulation. About eleven o'clock at night, Pethion and Manuel ſent them notice of the decree of baniſhment. Many went to reſt again in full ſecurity to ſee the gates of their priſon opened next morning, when they were flattered with the proſpect of being allowed all the time granted by the law, and announced by Manuel, that would be neceſſary for preparing themſelves to quit the kingdom—at that very time they were digging their graves in the burial ground. On that very day on which they were called up from their ſleep to hear the decree of their baniſhment, on Friday the 30th of Auguſt, the municipal emiſſaries had contracted for a large grave: and every workman was paid a hundred crowns.

Saturday paſſed on the ſide of the priſoners in the uſual exerciſes of piety, and in the fruitleſs expectation of the execution of thoſe orders which they ſuppoſed Pethion had given for their enlargement. On Sunday they had indulged themſelves with the ſame ſecurity: but their walk being delayed in the morning, ſome were aware that they were watched with uncommon jealouſy. On their return they perceived that the guard had been changed ſooner than

uſual. One of the new guards ſaid to them: "Be not afraid, Gentlemen: if you ſhould be attacked, we are ſtrong enough to defend you." They would have been more able to comprehend the danger announced by theſe words, if they had been acquainted with what was then going on in Paris. The greateſt conſternation reigned there from the taking of Longwi, and the news of the ſiege of Verdun by Brunſwick's army. The conſpirators had even called a council to deliberate, if it would not be prudent to leave the capital. Danton, miniſter of juſtice, had conceived other means for driving back the Auſtrians and Pruſſians. His plan was, agreeably to the expreſſion of the day, that France ſhould riſe in a maſs: but that they were firſt to begin by deſtroying all thoſe whom the municipal officers had ſent to the priſons, whether as royaliſts, or perſons attached to the conſtitution, or eſpecially as non-juring prieſts. The day aſſigned to the ruffians for this horrible execution was Sunday the 2d of September. On that day, in order to agitate the public mind, they had given out the news of the taking of Verdun, although that town had not then ſurrendered. The municipals announced to the aſſembly, that they were going to invite the Pariſians to form an army of ſixty thouſand men: that the alarm gun would be fired at mid-day, to aſſemble in the Champ de Mars all thoſe citizens who were diſpoſed to march: and that at the ſame time all the alarm bells ſhould alſo be rung. This alarm gun and bells filled one part of Paris with the greateſt grief and conſternation, and the other with the moſt frantic tranſports of rage. The municipal officers, inſtead of promoting the aſſembly in the Champ de Mars, diſperſed, after having aſſigned to the executioners their reſpective places, and given them their laſt inſtructions.

During all theſe preparations dinner was ſerved up to the prieſts at the church of the Carmes. An officer on guard

guard ſaid to them at that moment, and many times repeated theſe words: "When you leave this place, every article belonging to you ſhall be returned." The prieſts dined in the greateſt tranquillity, and with a little more gaiety than uſual. The executioners had already been concealed in the galleries of the houſe.

Their walk was deferred: many thought they would not be allowed one that day. But about four o'clock, contrary to cuſtom, the old and infirm men, and all thoſe who had remained in the church to finiſh their prayers, were forced out into the garden. There they found the guard doubled. That garden is a ſquare, divided by alleys into four compartments. To the ſouth are the walls of the convent: to the eaſt a part of the church, from which they paſſed acroſs a gallery. In the north angle, and at the bottom, was a ſort of open chapel ſupported by a railing, into which ſome prieſts always retired during their walk, that they might not ceaſe to pray while they were enjoying the freſh air. This was alſo ſhut contrary to cuſtom. At the requeſt of the archbiſhop of Saintes the officer on guard opened it.

The hundred and eighty prieſts thus united in the garden began their uſual pious exerciſes, when on a ſudden they were alarmed with a great noiſe at a diſtance. It was occaſioned by a party of the aſſaſſins, who were going to the Abbey through a neighbouring ſtreet. Their fellows, who were hidden in the corridor looking into the garden, were no longer able to contain themſelves; but brandiſhing their ſwords, their bayonets and pikes, they called out to the priſoners, "Behold villains, at laſt the moment of your puniſhment is arrived!" adding a thouſand imprecations. The prieſts on this ſignal retire to the bottom of the garden, fall on their knees,

offer to God the ſacrifice of their lives, and give to each other the laſt benediction.

The archbiſhop of Arles was at that time not far from the chapel in company of the Abbé de la Pannonie, who ſaid, "My Lord, I believe they are now come to aſſaſſinate us." To which the archbiſhop anſwered, "If this be the moment of our ſacrifice, let us chearfully ſubmit, and return thanks to God for giving us this opportunity of ſhedding our blood in ſo good a cauſe."

Whilſt the biſhop was yet ſpeaking, the gates of the garden were already broken open by the aſſaſſins. They were not at that time above twenty in number, and were at no time more than thirty. On entering they divided in two bodies, and advanced with a horrible outcry, one part towards the archbiſhop, the other up the avenue in the middle of the garden. The firſt whom they met was the Father Gerault, director of the ladies of St. Elizabeth. He was ſaying his breviary, and had not been diſturbed by the outcries of the aſſaſſins. One ſtroke of the ſabre brought him to the ground, where two others with their pikes conſummated the murder.

The Abbé Salins was the ſecond who fell under the fury of the ruffians. It was to Abbé Salins that Manuel had expatiated ſo much on the penſions to be fixed on the prieſts, and on the precautions and preparations neceſſary for their baniſhment. He advanced with a deſign to ſpeak to them. A muſket ball laid him dead.

The ruffians who advanced through the avenue leading to the chapel exclaimed with vehemence, Where is the archbiſhop of Arles? He waited their arrival without any emotion. Having approached the group before which he ſtood with M. de la Pannonie, they aſked the latter, Are

Are you the archbiſhop of Arles? M. de la Pannonie, with his eyes caſt down and his hands joined before his breaſt, made no anſwer. Then turning to M. Dillau they ſaid, "You then, villain, are the archbiſhop of Arles." —"Yes, gentlemen, I am the archbiſhop."—"Ah, villain! it is you who have occaſioned the effuſion of ſo much patriotic blood in the town of Arles."—"Gentlemen, I am not conſcious of ever having done any injury to any perſon."—"Very well," replied one of the ruffians, "I am now going to do you one:" and in ſpeaking diſcharged a blow with his ſabre on the archbiſhop's head. The archbiſhop ſtill ſtanding immoveable over againſt his aſſaſſin, waits for a ſecond blow without uttering a word. Another ruffian with a ſecond blow wounds him in the face. The prelate ſtill keeps his feet without ſpeaking a word, and without any other motion but raiſing his hands to his wounded face. A third blow on the head brought him to the ground: by extending his arm he endeavoured to break his fall. He was no ſooner fallen, than a ruffian armed with a pike plunged it into his breaſt with ſo much violence, that its iron head could not be withdrawn. The ruffian clapping his foot on the body of M. Dullau, took his watch out of his pocket, and held it up triumphantly to his companions as the reward of his great atchievement.

At the time the gate of the garden was forced open, fifteen or twenty of the youngeſt prieſts had made uſe of the opportunity to make their eſcape over a wall of a moderate height towards the neighbouring houſes. Many of them however returned, and again joined the company of the confeſſors, on reflection that their eſcape might render the ruffians more furious, and uſe greater cruelties to thoſe whom they left behind. To prevent the eſcape of the others, a ſentinel was here placed, with a piſtol in

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one hand and a ſabre in the other, who threatened inſtant death to every one who approached that wall.

On ſeeing the archbiſhop fall, the garden reſounded with the horrid ſong of the cannibals, with the ferocious exclamations of the Marſeillois, dictated by rage and fury, and with the din of arms. Many of the prieſts had at this time taken refuge in the chapel, where in ſilent prayer they offered up their ſouls to God, and awaited the ſtroke of death to conſummate the laſt ſacrifice of their lives. A part of the aſſaſſins here laid ſiege to them. By diſcharging their muſkets and piſtols at the kneeling victims, they killed ſome, and ſprinkled others with the blood of their brethren. In ſo ſmall a ſpace, the dead, the dying and the wounded fell in confuſion on one another, and on the pavement, covered with blood. The biſhop of Beauvais was in the middle of this chapel on his knees when he received a ball in his thigh. His friends who ſaw him fall thought him dead. Many other victims fell at the ſame time in that holy ſanctuary. M. de la Pannonie had retired to this place after the murder of the archbiſhop of Arles. "I can atteſt with truth," ſays he, "that I never heard the ſmalleſt complaint from any of "thoſe whom I ſaw murdered before my eyes."

The other aſſaſſins, drunk with blood and with rage, had a more open field for the exerciſe of their ſavage cruelty in purſuing the prieſts diſperſed in the garden. Of theſe ſome they diſpatched with their muſkets and piſtols, others fell by their ſabres, or were run through with their pikes, without any diſtinction of the young, the aged, or the infirm: in a word, they were ſo many innocent victims delivered over to the more than ſavage ferocity of twenty tygers thirſting for human blood.

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To harden them in their fury, the horrible ſong of the Carmaniole, together with the groſſeſt injuries of that villain, &c. reſounded from every quarter of the garden. But amidſt all their injuries and abuſe, their blaſphemies againſt religion and its holy myſteries, the ſacrifice of the maſs, the holy euchariſt, the Pope, and the whole order of prieſthood, were eaſily diſtinguiſhed above the reſt. "Villains," ſaid they, for that was the uſual appellation given to the prieſts, "the time is at laſt arrived, when you ſhall no longer impoſe upon the people with your maſſes and your bits of bread upon your altars. Go ſeek your Pope, that antichriſt whom you have ſo long ſupported; let him now come and reſcue you from our hands."

The undiſturbed confidence of theſe venerable men amidſt outrages and under the ſtroke of death, but above all their unfeigned piety, rouſed all the fury of the aſſaſſins. To ſee them wait for death upon their knees, to ſee them praying to the Almighty was to them as inſufferable as to the devils themſelves. "Get up, ye hypocrites," ſaid they, and forcing them to diſperſe, they purſued them like ſo many wild beaſts.

In the mean time arrived a commiſſary from the ſection with a freſh band of aſſaſſins. A voice is heard crying, *Stop, ſtop: it is too ſoon: it is not thus that the buſineſs muſt be done.* In effect to prevent the eſcape of any of the deſtined victims a regular order had been ſigned by the chiefs of the maſſacre, and was followed in other places.

The ſame voices, that of the commiſſary in particular, called out to the prieſts to go to the church, where they were aſſured to find protection. They endeavoured to obey the ſummons, and ſome of the ruffians ſeemed to reſpect the order: whilſt others, deaf to all authority even

even to that of their leader, and fearful leſt any of their victims ſhould eſcape, redoubled their rage.

In this confuſion ſome were endeavouring to drive them out of the garden, whilſt others puſhed them back. Whatever way they turned they ſaw nothing but pikes and bayonets pointed againſt them. Thoſe who with difficulty arrived at the church doors found it ſhut againſt them. When at laſt they found entrance, the firſt that arrived there threw themſelves on their knees in the ſanctuary; the reſt made their way thither through the crowd of aſſaſſins, ſome of whom puſhed them forwards, others fired at them as they approached.

At the extremity of the garden the maſſacre had not as yet ceaſed. A ſcene however was there exhibited, which indicated ſome ſpecies of humanity. The Abbé Dutillet with ſome other clergymen were cooped up againſt a wall, where he remained immoveable. One of the aſſaſſins three times levelled his piece at him, and three times his gun miſſed fire. Aſtoniſhed, he cried out, *Behold a prieſt that is invulnerable: I will not however try the fourth time.* I will not be ſo nice, ſaid another that was by, I will ſhoot him. No, anſwered the firſt, the man has an honeſt countenance, I take him under my protection; and ſaying this he placed himſelf before him. M. Dutillet by ſpeaking the patois of the Marſeillois had ſo far ingratiated himſelf with his protector, that he almoſt conſidered him as his countryman, and had nearly obtained the ſame favour for the prieſts that were with him. The other aſſaſſins who were lately arrived had been brought over by the firſt, when two of the prieſts advancing ſaid, "We aſk no favour of you: if our brethren are guilty, we are equally ſo: their religion is ours, and we are ready to ſeal it with our blood." "Die then, ſaid the ruffians, ſince you wiſh

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o die!" and killed them on the ſpot. M. Dutillet endeavoured to moderate the zeal of his brethren, and though afterwards compelled to enter the church with the reſt, he was recognized by his protector, and a ſecond time owed his life to the interference of his Marſeillois friend.

During this time the reſt of the prieſts had taken refuge either within the rails of the high altar, or in the choir behind it: for they were not permitted to remain in the body of the church. The old and infirm, approaching the ſanctuary with tardy ſteps, were ſtill expoſed to the fire of the aſſaſſins, who apprehended that there was a deſign to deprive them of their victims. This idea made them furious; but, whatever was the intention of the commiſſary, he ſucceeded in preventing their entrance on their firſt attempt. Like roaring lions they paraded round the rails which encloſed the choir, where they ſaw their prey, and made frequent attempts to tear them down.

Theſe men were not all the loweſt claſs of citizens. Their accent, their language, betrayed a proficiency in the maxims of philoſophiſm taught by the clubs, very different from the fanaticiſm of ignorant peaſants. One in particular, who would not have diſgraced the ſchool of a Diderot, a Helvetius, or a Condorcet, cried out inceſſantly, "Villains, aſſaſſins, hypocrites, the true enemies of the people, whom you have ſeduced by your leſſons, the day of vengeance is at laſt arrived. The ſword of the law is too ſlow to puniſh your crimes and treaſons. This day to us is given the charge of waſhing away in your blood the injury of nations, and to revenge the true friends of their country. You intended to deliver up to fire and ſword, to pillage and rapine, our poſſeſſions and our houſes: you intended to violate and murder our wives and our children. Yes, the ſword of the law is too ſlow.' To theſe invectives he added blaſphemies without end,

which ſeemed copied from Voltaire. His eyes ſparkled, his body trembled, he ſtamped his feet and gnaſhed his teeth with rage, and with a long ſabre attempted to reach the prieſts that were neareſt to him, and who on their knees were imploring the mercies of heaven on thoſe who perſecuted them.

For ſome time the efforts of the ruffians to enter the choir were fruitleſs. The endeavours of the commiſſary, though weak to enforce the law and the dictates of humanity, prevailed. He told them that the vengeance of the people was juſt; but that amongſt the victims ſome were innocent, and that a ſufficient number had already fallen. At this moment a profound ſilence took place. What a ſtrange compound are thoſe tygers whom we ſtill call men! The ſilence was occaſioned by the arrival of the Biſhop of Beauvais, whom his aſſaſſins brought in with the appearance of reſpect and compaſſion: they placed him on a mattraſs, ſeemingly with an intention of dreſſing his wounds. His brother, the reſpectable Biſhop of Saintes, was yet ignorant of his fate. On entering the choir he was heard to ſay, "Where is my brother? O my God! permit me not to be ſeparated from him. Abbé Bardet, who had heard the exclamation, ran with haſte to the wounded prelate, and offered him every aſſiſtance due from their former intimate friendſhip. He was not ſuffered long to remain with him.

All the rage of the ruffians is again roufed. The commiſſary in vain attempts to make his voice heard. They ruſh into the choir; and the ſight of ſo many holy men on their knees before the altar of God, inſtead of touching their hearts, inflamed their ire. They are impatient to conſummate the ſacrifice: they whet their pikes and ſabres on the altar and the communion table under the eyes of the prieſts, and are on the point of ſacrificing them at the foot

foot of the altar, when the commiſſary repreſented to them that it would be improper to ſhed ſo much blood in a holy place. The leaders of the aſſaſſins at laſt prevailed on them to follow the regular order of murder, which had been preſcribed at leiſure by the municipality. For proof of guilt no other queſtion was aſked but, *Have you taken the oath?* They anſwered, *No.* One added, *There are many among us whom the law does not oblige to take it, as they are not public functionaries. It is no matter*, anſwered the ruffians, *take the oath, or you die.* But now a ſcene of cool deliberate atrocity ſucceeds to the fury of the executioners.

There were about a hundred prieſts remaining. To proceed more methodically in their murder, the ſame commiſſary who had called them to the church under a promiſe of protection from all harm, eſtabliſhed his tribunal near the corridor, leading to the garden, to which they then gave the name of the Deer-park. The buſineſs of his tribunal is to call the prieſts before him, enregiſter their names, and to be aſſured that they are executed. We ſhall ſee however that either through compaſſion, or mere laſſitude of ſhedding blood, he will ſave the lives of ſome few.

The gendarmes on guard that day, though ſuperior in number to the aſſaſſins, made no effort to put a ſtop to the butchery: they are now placed, part in a line before the ſanctuary to keep the victims together, and at the mercy of their enemies, part in the interior of the houſe, and at the different doors, to prevent the people from ruſhing in and diſturbing the execution. The aſſaſſins placed themſelves ſome at the top, ſome on the landing place at the bottom of the ſtairs leading to the garden. This now become the place of ſacrifice; hither are conducted two by two, the innocent victims by the ruffians deputed to bring them.

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At the approach of each victim, a ſhout of joy is heard, and the conteſt ſeems to be who ſhall have the the honour of giving the firſt blow with his pike, his ſabre, or his muſket. At the dreadful cry of, *Long live the nation!* the victim dies ſometimes at the top, ſometimes thrown headlong to the bottom of the ſtairs, where he is pierced with a thouſand wounds. As ſoon as he has breathed his laſt, the dreadful cry of, *Long live the nation!* is the ſignal of victory, and to bring freſh victims.

Theſe cries, theſe ſignals of death, all reached the ears of the prieſts, who were on their knees in the church, but did not ſhake their conſtancy. When called in their turn to die, they roſe with a ſerenity of countenance mixed with joy, inſpired by the firm belief that their ſouls were then returning to the boſom of their Creator; others with the tranſports of innocence ſeemed eager to follow the invitation of angels to the nuptials of the Lamb. Others again, with their eyes fixed on their breviary, continued to pay the homage of praiſe to God under the ſwords of the aſſaſſins. Some with the Holy Scriptures in their hands, drew from that inexhauſtible ſource the ſtrength of martyrs in their laſt combat. Others with an air of modeſt and noble dignity, caſt a look of pity on their executioners, and braved their pikes and hatchets. Many of theſe illuſtrious confeſſors had conſecrated their talents, both in the pulpit and in their writings, to the ſervice of religion, either againſt the ſophiſms of impiety, or againſt the errors of the pretended civil conſtitution of the clergy: theſe bleſſed God, and returned him thanks for furniſhing them with this happy opportunity of ſealing with their blood the faith they had defended. Laſtly, ſome when called to die, caſt their eyes on the image of their crucified Redeemer, and addreſſed him in the words he himſelf addreſſed to his Father. Lord, pardon them, for they know not what they do.

Thus

Thus died thoſe men, whom we are happy to have known, and whom we glory to have had for our maſters, our friends, and our relations.

Mr. Louis Hebert was ſuperior of the Eudiſts. His modeſty, his tender piety, his inexhauſtible charity, his conſummate prudence gave him the authority of a father over the eccleſiaſtics with whom he lived, and for whom he had bought the houſe in which they lived, as a place of refuge againſt the dangers of the capital. His virtues drew him from the obſcurity to which he was cordially attached, and merited the eſteem of the clergy and the veneration of the congregation over which he preſided. He alſo enjoyed the confidence of the king, whoſe court he had carefully avoided, till the moment that courage and piety, and not intrigue, were neceſſary to open acceſs to it. Such a character had every title to the hatred of the jacobins: they ſought his life. He ſcorned to avoid their purſuit by changing his eccleſiaſtical dreſs. His modeſty accompanied him to his death. With his eyes caſt down, tranquillity in his countenance, and without uttering a word, he fell under the ſtrokes of the ruffians, like a meek and innocent lamb under the hand that ſtabs it.

Mr. Louis Minuret, formerly rector of Montlemard, and ſuperior of the eccleſiaſtics of St. Francis of Sales, had no leſs a title to the perſecution of the Jacobins. His firmneſs, his heart incapable of any diſſimulation, his ſtrong and cloſe reaſoning, together with a perfect knowledge of every thing belonging to his profeſſion, had endeared him to us more than the ties of blood. All theſe good qualities were clearly apparent in a work, which he did not heſitate to entitle, The pretended Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy convicted of Error and Schiſm. His book carried conviction, which he ſupported by his conduct. Called before the municipality in quality of Superior of

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an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment to take the oath, he anſwered, "Gentlemen, I know how far I can go and where my conſcience bids me ſtop: Since you ſo command, and ſince I cannot be conſidered by you as a loyal ſubject, unleſs I ſwear to maintain the new conſtitution, I will take the oath, but only on this condition, that the double reſtriction which I ſhall make be inſerted in your regiſters, and ſubſcribed by me, excepting from that oath explicitly whatever is contrary to juſtice or religion." This raiſed a great outcry; but Mr. Menuret was not to be moved: he rejected every other oath. He was threatened, pillaged and calumniated, but he was not changed. When conducted to the Carmes, he ſeemed to be at the height of his ambition. The pleaſure of being a priſoner for his faith brought back all his natural gaiety, which he communicated to his fellow priſoners. He foreſaw too well the end of this perſecution to be alarmed at it. He had made his will ſome time before his death, which he ſaw was inevitable; and from that time he converſed on earth, as one ready at a moment's warning to take his departure for heaven. To Mr. Menuret, in a ſpecial manner may be applied that teſtimony of a man, who cannot be ſuſpected of exaggeration in favour of the martyrs, of Mr. Violet, the commiſſary who preſided at their execution. Mr. Violet ſpeaking to ſome of the prieſts who had eſcaped from the maſſacre, but were ſtill detained in their ſection, in a fit of involuntary enthuſiaſm cried out, "I am loſt, I am overpowered with aſtoniſhment, it is beyond my conception, and I am convinced that any man who had been witneſs of the ſcene as I was, would have been equally aſtoniſhed. Your prieſts met death with as much joy and as much pleaſure, as if they had been going to a bridal feaſt."

The Abbé Gagneres des Granges went to martyrdom with all that patriarchal confidence which commands reſpect

pect and veneration. He wasa long time my maſter, and condeſcended to call me his ſon. What extent of learning, what variety of knowledge was in that man! Hiſtory, mathematics, phyſic, every thing was familiar to him. Thoſe who were beſt acquainted with him ſay, that he had read every thing and had forgotten nothing. Are ſuch men the victims of the revolution? Mr. Gagneres des Granges foreſaw the term, the object of the revolution before it began. In the beginning of January, 1788, he ſent to me a memoir on the conduct of the miniſters Brienne and Neckar with reſpect to religion, on the weakneſs and condeſcenſion of Louis XVI. to thoſe two ſcourges of France, and the misfortunes which they had entailed on the king and royal family. Theſe concluſions he drew from an attentive conſideration of the ordinary diſpenſations of Providence, and the hiſtory of the three laſt ages, and the princes of Europe. His memoir was not to be made uſe of in the manner Mr. Gagneres deſired, by inſerting it in the Eccleſiaſtical Journal. I repreſented to him that Mr. Brienne, at that time all powerful, would not fail to ſuppreſs my Journal, and by that means put a ſtop to all the little good I wiſhed to do by writing that work. *You do not think then that you can with propriety publiſh the Memoir?* Well, it is not the leſs true the deſigns of Providence will be fulfilled." Then with a prophetic air and dignity, he added, "You ſee that infant (ſpeaking of the king's eldeſt ſon then in good health) he will die. You ſee that man (ſpeaking of the king) he will loſe his crown." The unfortunate prediction had been fulfilled before Mr. Gagneres ſhed his blood for that religion, which had been ſo highly outraged, and whoſe injuries were to be avenged by ſuch a train of misfortunes.

Mr. Galais, Superior of the little community of St. Sulpice, was another and a voluntary victim. He had hid himſelf by climbing up a tree in one of the avenues, where

where there happened to be none of the ruffians: when on the point of eſcaping over the garden wall, he ſaw Mr. Bardet and the Biſhop of Saintes going to the church. He bluſhed at the thought of abandoning ſuch company, made haſte down and followed them to the church, from whence he was not releaſed till he went to receive the crown of martyrdom, happy in having obeyed the inſpiration which led him to it.

The Abbé Lefevre alſo had nearly eſcaped. The commiſſary had taken him under his protection, when one of the ruffians, propoſed ſome queſtions to him, to which Mr. Lefevre anſwered, that he would explain himſelf. No explanations replied the ruffians, otherwiſe die with the reſt: Very well, ſaid Mr. Lefevre, I rather chuſe to go, and thereupon preſented himſelf to the aſſaſſins and was executed like the others.

Many other eccleſiaſtics of diſtinguiſhed merit fell at the Carmes by the hands of the ruffians: among others were Meſſieurs Franc and Bouſquet, one Superior of the Eudiſts at Caen, author of two excellent works, perfectly calculated to lay open the cauſes of the revolution, entitled, The Curtain raiſed, and the Conſpiracy againſt Religion and the King revealed; the other, a youth of fine parts, who promiſed one day to excel in the knowledge of the laws of the church. The two brothers, Thorame with their uncle, were alſo of the number. They were all three bleſſed with ſuperior talents, a moſt admirable ſweetneſs of character, with zeal and piety moſt edifying: To theſe were added many more, whom the priſon at the Carmes did not terrify, becauſe they had been accuſtomed to priſons elſewhere from the beginning of the revolution.

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The two brothers, MM. Nativelle, one vicar of Argenteuil, the other of Lonjumeau, were alſo at the Carmes. At the time of the maſſacre the inhabitants of the ſtreet called Buſſy, haſtened to deliver them, and once thought that they had ſucceeded. They gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that the two prieſts had never given the ſmalleſt uneaſineſs to any perſon from the time they had taken refuge in that quarter; they added, that if they were not of the conſtitutional religion, the conſtitution itſelf allowed them to follow any other. The commiſſary received their petition favourably, and even congratulated with the MM. Nativelle, and announced to them their delivery. The executioners conſented to it, and the two brothers were retiring, when ſome one called out, Stop, gentlemen, for a minute, we muſt have the oath of liberty and equality. They had already reflected maturely on that oath. They ſaw, or thought they ſaw in it an approbation of the principles of the revolution, of its anarchy, of its injuſtice, and of all its horrors. Their anſwer was, that they rather choſe to die. Conſider ſeriouſly, ſaid the commiſſary, and left them to the care of their mediators. Theſe gentlemen left no means untried to prevail upon the confeſſors: their entreaties and reaſons were equally fruitleſs. The MM. Nativelle, convinced in their own minds, that this laſt oath was not leſs injurious to their conſcience, than the oath of ſupporting the civil conſtitution of the clergy, perſiſted conſtantly in their refuſal; and thoſe reſpectable citizens who came to ſolicit their deliverance, had the mortification to ſee them expire at their feet under the axes of their executioners.

In the number of martyrs the houſe of St. Sulpice loſt eight of its directors: the Benedictins loſt their general M. Ambroſe Chevreux, Louis Barreau and Dom Maſſey; the Capucins loſt the father Morel, a Swiſs, and the Sorbon

Sorbon Mr. Hermes, the author of ſome excellent works, and perfectly adapted to the capacity of the lower orders of ſociety. The houſe of Navarre loſt ſeveral of its profeſſors, and Mr. Keraurun the proviſor; the doctrinaires Mr. Felix, their ſuperiors and the friars, their guardian Mr. Burté. In a word, there are few eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments which had not the honor of counting ſome of its members in the number of martyrs.

The Jeſuits alſo had ſeveral reſpectable men at the Carmes, the venerable remains of their former body. Beſides M. Gagneres, there was M. Millou, who only wanted ſtrength to become in this age the rival of Bourdaloue. Mr. Friteyre-Durvey and Mr. Legué were alſo there, and were amongſt the moſt eſteemed preachers of Paris; M. Bonneau, alſo well known by the works he has publiſhed, but particularly by his memoir to be read to the king's council in 1787, where the future deſtiny of the king was clearly depicted. Mr. Delfaut, archprieſt of Sarlat, and deputy to the firſt national aſſembly, whoſe greateſt happineſs it was to have extricated himſelf out of it, without contaminating his conſcience with any of its oaths. About half an hour before the fatal entry of the aſſaſſins, he ſent the following meſſage to his friends, who had provided him with neceſſaries in his confinement. Tell them, ſays he, that I never was better or ſo happy in my life. Meſſ. Rouſſeau and Villecroin, two ancient Jeſuits were alſo there. The former had been conducted to priſon by miſtake. The ſection was in ſearch of another prieſt in the ſame houſe, and diſcovered their error; Mr. Rouſſeau in going to execution rejoiced that the miſtake had not been rectified. He was director of the nuns of the viſitation, in the ſtreet of Bac. The other director of the nuns of the Belle-Chaſſe, was congratulating a friend who had juſt eſcaped from the committee of inſpection,

tion, when he himſelf was taken and hurried to priſon, where he ſuffered with the ſame conſtancy as his brethren.

The reſt of the victims in general were either curates, vicars or prieſts attached to the pariſhes, whom a perſecution of three years continuance had prepared to receive the honor of martyrdom, or vicars-general who on this trying occaſion proved themſelves worthy of the confidence placed in them by their biſhops.

We muſt not omit to mention M. Regis de Valfons. He was an old officer of the regiment of Champagne, and had lived amongſt theſe clergymen from the early part of their confinement, with all the fervor of the firſt chriſtians, and with all their zeal to ſhed his blood for his faith. Mr. Guillemenet, a prieſt of St. Roch, was his director in the concerns of his conſcience. Seeing his director hurried to the Carmes for his religion, he would not be ſeparated from him. His aſſiduity in prayer and in the practices of piety equalled that of the moſt fervent eccleſiaſtics. Men the moſt attached to life never ſhewed more fear of death, than he did zeal to undergo that which he was ſoon to ſuffer in proof of his faith. When he was told that he might eaſily obtain his liberty, his anſwer was, that his priſon was dearer to him than liberty. His director being called to die, he immediately roſe to accompany him. They went together ſide by ſide, as they had been long accuſtomed to do in their walks at leiſure hours; Mr. Guillemenet with his breviary in his hand, Mr. Valfons reading the holy ſcriptures. The ſame pious ſentiments had united them on earth, and the ſame inſtant opened to them the gates of heaven.

In this manner were ſacrificed all thoſe who had found place in the ſanctuary before the altar: the reſt behind the altar in the choir of the religious waited in prayer for the moment

moment of conſummating their ſacrifice. One of the ruffians perhaps tired with the labour of murder, came into the choir to count the number of victims ſtill remaining, and ſeeing them on their knees at prayer, "Pray on, ſaid he, that not one of you may eſcape. Remember the 10th of Auguſt, if you could then have deſtroyed us all, you would not have ſpared us. It is now our turn." Thus thoſe very men, who with ſo much art and ſecrecy planned and executed the deteſtable conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt againſt the king, found means to lay the guilt and the puniſhment of their treaſon on the heads of the eccleſiaſtics, and to make the ſtupid barbarity of the executioners, the inſtrument of their vengeance both againſt the throne and the altar.

The ſanctuary ſupplying no more victims, thoſe in the choir were next called on. Mr. Gallais, who, as we have ſeen, could not perſuade himſelf to abandon the opportunity of martyrdom, when on the point of eſcaping over the wall of the garden, was one of theſe. Two days before, he had been appointed the ſteward of his fellow-priſoners. In going to execution he ſtopped before the commiſſary, and told him,—"It has not been in my power to ſee the landlord who furniſhed our table; there is due to him on that account the ſum of three hundred and twenty-five livres, which I have the honor to put into your hands. I do not think that I can confide it to better. As to my watch and bills which may be in my pocket-book, my family does not want them, and is alſo at too great a diſtance. May I deſire you to beſtow that money on the poor." This ſaid, he went chearfully to death.

Some other prieſts, Mr. Berthelet in particular, delivered their money and their watches to other hands to be ſent to their families. The commiſſion was never executed.

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The biſhop of Saintes was one of the laſt who was called on. Providence ſeemed ſo to diſpoſe that he ſhould enter heaven but a moment before his brother. The friendſhip which united them, *was that true fraternity, which no diſſenſion ever violated: it was the friendſhip of thoſe ſaints who ſhed their blood to follow the Lord, who deſpiſing the grandeur of the world, arrive together in the kingdom of heaven. It is good, it is ſweet for brothers thus to live together.* Peter Lewis de la Rochfoucault, biſhop of Saintes was no ſooner dead, than the ruffians ruſhing into the church, cried out, "Where is Francis Joſeph de la Rochfoucault, biſhop of Beauvais." The national guards on duty made no anſwer, but opening their ranks, the banditti ſaw the biſhop lying on his mattraſs where they had placed him. He anſwered them, "I do not refuſe to go to die like the others; but you ſee it is not poſſible for me to walk: I humbly crave that you will have the charity to aſſiſt me to go to the place where I am called." The ruffians with ſome appearance of humanity and even reſpect raiſed him by the arms, and aſſiſted him to trail himſelf to the garden gate. He was one of the laſt that was executed there.

This ſcene of butchery had continued for three hours. During all which time the inhabitants of Paris ſtupified with fear and aſtoniſhment, had never made one effort to put a ſtop to the outrages. The commiſſion of the commiſſary of Luxembourg ſeemed rather to preſide at the executions than to prevent them: the national aſſembly to which the news of the diſorders was carried, would not vouchſafe even to take the matter into conſideration. The mob, who are often delighted with blood, though they have no intereſt in ſhedding it, had flocked in great crouds to the Abbey, where the conſtitution had its miſerable victims, as religion had its martyrs at the Carmes. When the

the gates were opened at this latter place, the number of perſons waiting to be admitted in the court of the church was not great, but it conſiſted of the very dregs of the people. Whether this was owing to the horror conceived for the diſguſting atrocity exerciſed againſt men whoſe innocence was well known, or to ſome latent ſparks of reſpect ſtill preſerved for the ſacred character, or finally to the circumſtance of the gates being kept ſhut, we will not undertake to determine. Acceſs was no ſooner given, than they ruſhed in to plunder the dead bodies, to inſult them, and to enjoy the ſavage pleaſure of ſeeing them buried in their blood.

One part of the aſſaſſins paraded through the Luxembourg to the notes of the horrible Carmaniole, which had reſounded from every quarter during the time of the maſſacre, brandiſhing in token of triumph their pikes and ſabres, which like their hands and clothes were ſtill reeking with human gore. Another body of them joined the infamous gendarmes in the church, to celebrate with them during the night the infamous exploits of the day in ſinging and drinking. In the midſt of theſe orgies by the pale light of their flambeaux, a voice is heard from a nitch in the wall of the church, and a human figure covered with blood appears on the top of a ladder which ſtood againſt the wall. It was M. Loſtande, who after receiving ſeveral wounds had eſcaped from the firſt carnage in the garden, and finding means through the tumult and confuſion to get into the church before the reſt, had taken refuge in that nitch, the ſituation of which he well knew. At this ſight the ruffians ſtart up, crying, Behold another of the prieſts, let us diſpatch him: they take their ſabres and are already on the ſteps of the ladder, when M. Loſtande with a feeble dying voice ſays, "Gentlemen, my life is "in your hands. I know what I have reaſon to expect

"from

« from you: but I am oppreſſed with a cruel thirſt, the « effect of a fever, and the loſs of blood, more dreadful « than the fear of your ſwords. This thirſt is intolerable: « either give me a glaſs of water, or take from me this remnant of life infinitely more inſupportable than death."

The ruffians ſeemed to be ſoftened at this addreſs, when a voice was heard ſaying, *behold here another.* This was M. Dubray, a prieſt of St. Sulpice. He had hid himſelf between two mattraſſes, where he was almoſt ſtifled, and had moved a little to get ſome air. The ruffian who heard him move, ſeized him, brought him before the altar, and with a ſtroke of his ſabre ſplit his ſcull: they finiſhed him with their pikes. M. Loſtande from the top of his ladder was witneſs to this ſcene, and could expect no other lot. He deſcends with difficulty, approaches the ruffians, repeats his requeſt for a glaſs of water or death, and then falls fainting into their arms. Is it then true, that after committing ſo many murders, there is a limit beyond which human barbarity does not go? At the ſight of this prieſt fainting the canibals begin to be moved, they give him a glaſs of water, they carry him to his ſection. When there, the hearts of the men in office ſtill more hardened, refuſe to hear him. The executioner who conducted him, ſhocked at their cruelty, told them that their buſineſs was to ſuccour a dying man, and not to judge him; and now become ſenſible of the dictates of humanity, conducted him to the hoſpital of the ſection*.

* The prieſts eſcaped from the maſſacre and arrived in London not having been preſent at this ſcene, I cannot bring their authority to teſtify the truth of it. I received it from the Abbé Gauthier, vicar-general of the biſhop of Clermont, who had it from the Abbé du Tillet.

Among

Among the bittereſt enemies of the nonjuring clergy there were ſome who held theſe cruelties in abhorrence, and endeavoured to ſave at leaſt ſuch as they were particularly connected with. I am glad of an opportunity of doing juſtice on this head to the Abbé Grandmaiſon, who had taken the oath, and whoſe zeal for the conſtitution was well known. On the eve of the maſſacre he mounted the tribune in his own ſection, and with all the warmth inſpired by friendſhip he claimed one of the victims ſhut up in the Carmes. This alone demonſtrates that the murders committed there were not the effect of a ſudden impulſe of the rabble, but a premeditated deſign. The pathetic ſpeech of M. Grandmaiſon had no effect on his hearers, who refuſed to take the ſubject into conſideration. He was more ſucceſsful with a national guard: He learned from M. Grandmaiſon certain marks by which his friend might be known. The next day the gendarme mixed with the other guards at the Carmes, ſought and diſcovered the prieſt whom he had undertaken to ſave. He dreſſed him as a ſentinel and placed him in a court from whence, when the bloody ſcene was nearly over, and a more exact ſearch might be made, he conducted him away.

When M. de l'Epine, one of the venerable old men belonging to the eſtabliſhment of St. Francis of Sales, was going to execution, the guard who conducted him, moved by pity and reſpect, obliged him to ſtop and to change his eccleſiaſtical for a lay habit, and placed him by the ſide of the commiſſary, where all thoſe were placed who had found means to intereſt their guards for their ſafety without promiſing to take the oath. The commiſſary tired with ſo much carnage chearfully concurred in ſuch acts of commiſeration. This was intimated to M. Bardet by one of the guards, and on entering the church

church with the biſhop of Saintes, he ſtopped and ſaid that he was not unwilling to die with his companions, but that he knew not that he was guilty of any crime. The commiſſary, without permitting him to finiſh, took him by the arm and bid him ſtay by his ſide, where he found ſome other prieſts, Meſſrs. Dutillet, Chariot, Bertelet, and Foreſtier.

Some found means to hide themſelves, as M. Turc, in a hall: two others amongſt ſome timber, or behind the beams in a place the moſt infected of the whole houſe. Being eſcaped from the maſſacre they were dragged to the ſection, and were forced to undergo many interrogatories, when they heard the enraged populace call repeatedly to have them delivered into their hands.

During their confinement by the officers of the ſection, they diſtinctly heard one of their executioners complain that they refuſed him a ſhare in the ſpoils of the murdered prieſts. *Six livres*, ſaid he, *is not too much for that day's work. I killed enough to deſerve moreover a pair of breeches.*

The priſoners hearing this complaint, apprehended that the victims who had eſcaped would have been pointed out to him and delivered to his fury, or rather they regretted that they had not fallen with their brethren. From theſe complaints, and the anſwers made to them, the priſoners at leaſt were able to aſcertain the price put upon their heads, and the infamous means uſed to inflame the minds of the people againſt them. After paſſing the night in great fear and uneaſineſs the commiſſaries appeared in the morning. Of theſe ſome congratulated them on their eſcape, and candidly confeſſed that they knew no crime for which their companions had ſuffered. Others ſeemed

to grant them their liberty with great reluctance. The Abbé Bardet, rector of Ferté Aleps, was examined with peculiar rigour. When driven from his pariſh, he had undertaken the care of educating the young M. de Mallet. The commiſſary interrogated him concerning the conduct he had purſued relatively to the conſtitutional religion, if he had preſented himſelf to the conſtitutional curate before he ſaid maſs, and had conducted his pupil to the prayers of the conſtitutional prieſts, and why he had done none of theſe things. Theſe ſuppoſed crimes had nearly delivered him again into the hands of the executioners. The other prieſts were ſoon diſmiſſed: his dignity of curé or rector was an obſtacle to his enlargement. Nevertheleſs the ſection ſeemed diſpoſed to give him his liberty, when a conſtitutional prieſt roſe to oppoſe it. "The prieſts," ſays he, "who refuſe the oath are "all dangerous men, and if you give this man his liberty, "he will infallibly bring up his elevé in principles incom- "patible with the revolution." The ſtupid apoſtate, as well as his hearers, did not reflect that M. Bardet, whoſe influence they ſo much dreaded, only aſked his liberty that he might leave the kingdom, according to the orders of the national aſſembly. At laſt M. Mareſchal, his worthy friend, with indefatigable pains and much interruption, obtained an order from the committee of inſpection, to ſet at liberty M. Bardet, and four others, who had been diſcovered at the Carmes.

Among all thoſe who eſcaped there ſeemed to be a ſpecial providence in the caſe of the Abbé Lapize de la Pannonie. I have ſaid that he retired to the chapel in the garden after the death of the archbiſhop of Arles. Unable to bear the ſight of ſo many friends dying about him, he roſe from his knees and turned to the ruffians. The ball which wounded the biſhop of Beuvais was aimed at him.

When

When they were ordered to the church, he went with the reſt: but I will give the remaining part of his hiſtory in his own words, by tranſcribing the relation of his adventure, which he could not refuſe to the eſteem, the friendſhip, the reſpect I have for him.

" Having heard the cannibals declare that *our time was come, and that we muſt all periſh*, and ſeeing that nothing would appeaſe them, I made a ſhort prayer and determined to ruſh on death. I advanced towards them full of confidence in God, and wiſhing to be no longer a witneſs of the murder of my brethren. I left the chapel, and went into the garden. A national guard, with whom I had not the leaſt acquaintance, came up to me, and with an air of mildneſs and compaſſion ſaid, " Save yourſelf, my friend, ſave yourſelf!" I thought it was my duty to endeavour to make uſe of the opportunity offered by that good man, and went to the corridor which leads to the little gate of the cloiſter. I was here attacked by a foreſt of bayonets, nine of which wounded me more or leſs grievouſly. I defended myſelf as well as I could, and ſeized with my naked hands ſome of their bayonets, which the narrowneſs of the place hindered them from uſing with great addreſs. Seeing nothing could move them, I determined to return to the garden, or as they called it, the deer park. I was again ſtopped by another national guard, who endeavoured to protect me from the aſſaſſins. He told them that without doubt I had been judged innocent, as I was permitted to go out. He made the ſame repreſentation to the leader of the Marſellois, who with a dreadful and precipitate expreſſion anſwered, " put him in that corner he ſhall be judged after."

" My kind protector readily obeyed the order, and of his own accord protected me from the aſſaſſins, who

endeavoured to get it into the corridor to murder me, by preſenting his arms, and refuſing them entrance. Whilſt they were murdering my brethren, I was ſtanding in the nitch of the corridor leaning againſt a door-poſt, and loſing a great deal of blood from the wounds I had received; but principally from that in my arm, which having opened a vein or artery bled very freely. My guard ſhewed great compaſsion for me. I aſked him, if he thought he would be able to ſave me. He anſwered, if I did not hope to ſave you I could not bear the ſight of this tragedy; it is too horrible. I had with me about ſix hundred livres in aſsignats; I offered them to him, ſaying, that if I eſcaped that ſum was a trifle, and if I died I ſhould be glad that he profited by them rather than the ruffians. He refuſed to accept them, ſaying, that he ſhould be amply paid if he had the happineſs to ſave my life. He obſerved that my ſtrength began to fail, and ſighed with no leſs ardour than I did, that a ſpeedy term might be put to this ſcene of blood. The moment the populace were let in, he adviſed me to paſs through the crowd, then too intent on plunder to take any notice of me. I truſted myſelf to the care of providence, which did not fail to protect me till I came to a houſe at the diſtance of twenty twenty minutes walk from the Carmes. In the ſtreets I paſſed through, the maſſacre was the ſubject of converſation of which ſome ſpoke with horror, others with applauſe. It is very extraordinary that no one took notice either of my wounds, or of the blood with which I was covered, for it was yet day light. At laſt I arrived at the houſe of a lady, whoſe name I dare not mention, for fear of expoſing her to danger, but of whoſe hoſpitable reception and tender care, and thoſe of her family, I ſhall ever retain the moſt grateful ſenſe."

It is not poſſible to aſcertain exactly the number of victims who fell a ſacrifice to their faith at the Carmes, on account of the great numbers who were hurried to that priſon but a day or two before the ſlaughter. The other priſoners kept a regiſter of their companions as a precious monument of their connection and common ſufferings, if providence ſhould pleaſe again to diſperſe them. According to the beſt accounts I have been able to procure, the number of martyrs was one hundred and forty; of thoſe who eſcaped, about thirty-ſix or thirty-eight.

It is afflicting for the reader, and ſtill more ſo for the hiſtorian, to have his attention drawn from one bloody ſcene to another ſtill more bloody; it is however ſome ſatisfaction that in the hiſtory we have been deſcribing, the cauſe in which the victims ſuffered, their reſolution and their perſeverance do more honour to human nature than the ſavage brutality of their tyrants can do it diſhonour. The philoſopher may fret, the citizen grow pale at the recital, the chriſtian will admire the fortitude of their dying for their faith. The oath or death was their only choice. The former reſtored them to liberty, to life, and to the applauſe of the people, and made their executioners their friends. But what is life, what is liberty, what is applauſe, put in balance with the dying for the truth, the God of all truth! Not an individual amongſt theſe prieſts heſitates a moment in his choice, not an individual enquires if there be ſtill time to ſave a periſhable life by the oath of error. It is true then that there is another and a better life for thoſe, whoſe hearts are attached, and inſeparably united to the God of truth. That God of truth is alſo great, who by a ſingle thought becomes preſent to man and makes him invincible, makes him ſuperior to all his tyrants, and to his executioners.

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His death is not the triumph of Pethion, Marat, or Robeſpierre; it is their defeat. They can deſtroy the victim, they cannot make him an apoſtate. His body falls, his ſoul riſes to heaven, and the angels diſpute the honour of preſenting it to the throne of God: and what can God ſee on earth more noble, more worthy of him than that man who dies for him? I will continue therefore to give the hiſtory of other maſſacres. The reader may follow me to the Abbey, to St. Firmin's, to the priſon la Force, and to the Place Dauphine. It is a pleaſure to deliver to poſterity the fortitude of martyrs, not the cruelty of aſſaſſins.

In the priſon of the Abbey there was confined a prodigious number of priſoners, whom Danton and Manuel for various reaſons, procured to be murdered at the ſame time that the horrors we have deſcribed were committed at the Carmes. Amongſt the royaliſts and conſtitutionals ſome victims however were found of a ſuperior order, whoſe death was the triumph of truth over error, of conſcience over perjury, of the prieſthood over the enemies of the altar. The bloody ſcene opened in the court before the Abbey with the death of theſe men.

In obedience to the law which preſcribed baniſhment to all ſuch eccleſiaſtics as refuſed to take the oath, theſe prieſts, after taking proper precautions to ſecure their retreat by obtaining paſſports as the law preſcribed, and confiding in the faith of that law, were haſtening to the place of their exile. Unſuſpicious of any treachery on the part of the municipal officers, they boldly preſented themſelves at the gates: theſe they were not permitted to paſs. They preſented their paſſports, by which the guards diſcovered that they were eccleſiaſtics who refuſed the oath. Their paſſports were their death warrants. In this

this manner four carriages with ſixteen prieſts had been arreſted. They were conducted to the town-houſe, and from thence to the Abbey by a municipal officer who took charge of them. The aſſaſſins arrived at the ſame moment, and the people were aſſembled. Such was the diſpoſition of providence that the municipal officer who conducted theſe prieſts to ſlaughter, was the firſt who met with his fate. Congratulating with himſelf on the ſucceſs of his perfidious miſſion, he delivered the prieſts into the hands of the ruffians, and was going to return to give an account of his charge, when the populace miſtook him for a prieſt who was making his eſcape. In ſpite of his proteſtations to the contrary, the blind fury of the people put a period to his exiſtence.

The prieſts were ſoon informed of the cauſe of their impriſonment: their trial was not long: they were known to be prieſts who had refuſed the oath; that alone was a ſufficient crime at the Abbey. On preſenting them to the tribunal, (for the ruffians had erected a tribunal) it was ſaid, they are prieſts. The judge anſwered, Death!

Theſe ſixteen prieſts arreſted at the gates of Paris, and fifteen others ſent to the Abbey by the committee of inſpection preciſely at the ſame time, were maſſacred in the court. Among theſe laſt were M. Martin and M. Fountaine, prieſts of the pariſh of St. James and of the Holy Innocents. They dined together that day in their own apartments, in the ſtreet Heaumerie, near that of St. Denis, and had with them the Abbé Denois, juſt recovered from a dangerous illneſs, whom they ſupported from motives of charity. The national guards arrive, preſs them to finiſh their meal, and conduct them to the place of execution. They take a laſt farewell

well of each other in this world, to meet again immediately in another.

In the ſame part of the priſon where the victims of honour and the ancient monarchy, together with thoſe of rebellion or the new conſtitution, no ſooner formed than deſtroyed, were confined, two venerable eccleſiaſtics well known in Paris were alſo impriſoned. One was M. Chapt de Reſtignac, vicar general of the archbiſhop of Arles, doctor of the Sorbonne, and nearly eighty years of age. During the revolution he had publiſhed "a Diſſertation on Eccleſiaſtical Property," another entitled, "Reaſon and Revelation againſt Divorce," "a Tranſlation of the Synodical Epiſtle of Nicholas, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, to the Emperor Alexis Commenus, relative to the erection of Metropolitan Sees, with Notes on various parts of the Civil Conſtitution of the Clergy decreed by the Aſſembly." The two firſt works were diſtinguiſhed by a profound and extenſive learning. A ſcrupulous attention to truth, in ſome inſtances perhaps carried to a fault by deſcending to tedious trifles, diſtinguiſhed all his works. His reaſoning is always learned, though ſometimes it loſes its ſtrength by being too particular. It was the character of the man, who preferred truth and the rugged paths of ſtrict exactneſs, to the brilliancy of words and the flights of imagination. Dear to his family, dear to his friends, he was happy to count in that number, M. Durſoy, whom his works in favour of monarchy have greatly diſtinguiſhed. If the latter had reaſon to ſay, on hearing the ſentence of death pronounced againſt him, It is glorious to die for the king on the feaſt of St. Lewis, the former had not leſs reaſon to ſay, It is glorious to die for God on the day of martyrs.

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The Abbé Lenfant was the worthy companion of M. de Raſtignac. After the deſtruction of the Jeſuits, he continued to cultivate his talent for preaching which he had formed in that ſociety, and was ſucceſſively admired in the pulpit of Verſailles, Vienna, and Paris. He owed his reputation to ſolid reaſoning, to the elevation and unction of his eloquence, and to a majeſtic delivery, worthy of the ſubject he diſcourſed on. The love and eſteem of all that knew him, he owed to the mildneſs and cheerfulneſs of his character, to the purity of his manners, by which he recommended the truths of the goſpel ſtill more effectually than by his diſcourſes.

Theſe two celebrated eccleſiaſtics were uſhered into that apartment where the victims of Danton and Manuel were detained, and from whence they did not depart but to hear the ſentence of death, and to fall under the pikes of the ruffians, or the ſwords of the Marſellois. At the ſight of theſe miſerable objects, pale, trembling, deſpairing, every moment expecting to be called to the dreadful tribunal, all their zeal is rouzed; they forget that they themſelves are going to die; or rather, they rejoice that before they die Providence gives them an opportunity of ſaving ſouls. With all that authority which virtue only can inſpire at that dreadful moment, they repreſent to their fellow priſoners that there is another tribunal, at which they muſt appear after that of the ruffians. They raiſe their hearts to God, and ſoften them into repentance; they teach them to avoid more dreadful puniſhments than thoſe inflicted by the tyrants.

At the voice of theſe apoſtles they fall on their knees, and all their religious ſentiments revive in their dejected ſouls. The prieſts, with that authority which they received from heaven, pronounce the ſacred words of abſolution,

ſolution, confident that the ſentence they pronounce on earth is ratified by God in heaven: and then inſtruct them in thoſe ſentiments with which a conſcience free from guilt meets death.

M. Lenfant when called to die advances with the ſame firmneſs with which he formerly mounted the chair of evangelical truth, which he announced to the people. We were told at Paris that the people at the ſight of their apoſtle cried out with one voice, *Let him live!* The executioner lets him go: the people puſh him forward, ſaying, *Save yourſelf!* He was now clear of the crowd; but his ſenſibility would not allow him to go without thanking the people, whoſe voice had delivered him. He returns to expreſs his gratitude. He is ſeized by four ruffians, who grudged to loſe their prey. Mr. Lenfant raiſes his hands to heaven, ſaying, *My God I return you thanks that I can now offer my life for you, as you offered yours for me.* They were his laſt words. He fell upon knees, and expired under their blows.

The labours, the years, the infirmities of M. Raſtignac muſt in a very ſhort time have put a period to his exiſtence. His countenance was emaciated, his limbs enfeebled with a long illneſs, his whole body tottering to the grave, but his ſoul preſerved all its vigour. He was conducted to the gate of St. Margaret, which was now to become the ſcene of horror. At this gate preſided a municipal officer, decorated with the inſignia of his office, and at the appearance of each victim, read, or pretended to read, a ſentence called the judgment of the people: at his elbow ſtood a band of executioners with pikes and hatchets ready for execution. A Marſellois high above the reſt mounted on a caſk, the throne of ſavage barbarity, held his ſabre over the head of the victim, and at the ſignal given, let it fall with

with all its force on the head of M. Raſtignac. A breath of air was ſufficient to overturn him. A flower of the field withered with autumnal heat does not fall under the ſcythe with greater eaſe than the Abbé Raſtignac fell under the ſabre or the aſſaſſin. His body hauled through the dirt of the ſtreet, was thrown on a heap of other victims in the court of the Abbey.

The Abbé Boiſgelin, from his family connections and the honourable employ of agent of the clergy, ſeemed to be in the way of higher honours in the church. The truth of hiſtory requires that we allow that his conduct, more than equivocal, and a character ſtained with vices diſgraceful even in a layman, had hitherto ſhut up the avenue to epiſcopacy to him. The merits of his uncle, a reſpectable biſhop, who had demonſtrated with invincible arguments the errors of the conſtitution, had gained for M. Boiſgelin a place in this honourable catalogue. He was alſo a prieſt, and had not defiled himſelf with taking the oath. Like the workmen of the goſpel, who were called at the laſt hour, he expiated in his laſt moments the irregularities with which he was reproached, and waſhed away the ſcandal with his blood. We will confidently hope that his laſt breath would ſatisfy the juſtice of God; and that though his repentance was long delayed, as he died with his brethren, he received with them the recompence of a martyr. Had he weakly purchaſed his life at that moment by taking the oath, it would have been a triumph to the Jacobins, and he might have lived with Brienne.

M. Royer, rector of St. John de Greve, in Paris, was of a different character. He was loved and reſpected by his pariſh for every virtue which belongs to his profeſſion. With great charity and œconomy he had ſucceeded in making ſeveral eſtabliſhments for the benefit of the

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poor of his pariſh: I ſaw him when firſt impriſoned in the hotel of the mayor. He waited there for the determination of the committee of inſpection with all the calmneſs, for which he was diſtinguiſhed in his own pariſh, but perfectly prepared to ſeal with his blood that faith, to which he had done honour by his aſſiduity in the ſacred functions, and by his diſintereſted zeal. The young Abbé de Pey was his companion in confinement, waiting the call of his judges, or the ſword of the executioners. We could not ſufficiently admire the tranquillity and gaiety of the young man: they were the happy effects of innocence. The priſoners were long overlooked or forgotten in that immenſe garret, and were only releaſed at the moment of the maſſacre, to be ſent to the Abbey, where they ſuffered with many other prieſts, viz. M. St. Clair, vicar-general of Die; M. Gervais, ſecretary to the Archbiſhop of Paris; the two brothers Benoit; Capeau, Deſpomerai, Neveu, Simon Tareau, prieſts attached to different pariſhes; and M. Kateau, Doctor of Sorbonne.

The only prieſt who is known to have eſcaped from the butchery at the Abbey, is a religious of the order of Clugni. He was one of thoſe ſixteen arreſted at the gates of Paris. On his arrival at the Abbey he obſerved amongſt the commiſſaries one in whoſe company he had been ſeveral times at the houſe of a common friend. That friend, not doubting the exile of the religious man, had confided to him the ſum of forty thouſand livres. This ſum he wiſhed to ſecure and to reſtore to his friend, and for that end delivered his pocket-book to the commiſſary. The commiſſary recogniſing the religious man, formed the following ſtratagem to ſave his life. He conducted him into the very office where the clerks were drawing up the verbal proceſs of the day. Not having time to explain himſelf farther, he placed him at the table and bid him write.

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The religious man waited to know what he was to write, and the commiſſary obſerving his embarraſſment, aſſumed a ſevere tone, and ſaid, Write what I ordered you, and let it be ready for my return. He comprehended the meaning, and continued to write, or to ſeem to write.

The ruffians were continually going in and out of the bureau boaſting and rejoicing at the number of victims they had ſlain, and examining the liſts. One was wanting of the ſixteen prieſts: it was the religious man then in the office before them, and whom they took for a clerk. Theſe enquiries were made in his hearing and in his preſence. The diſappointment at the loſs of their prey raiſed all their rage. Senſible then of the importance of the part he had to act, he continued to write with great aſſiduity and affected ſolicitude to fulfil the orders he had received. The commiſſary watched the favourable moment to return, examined the papers, and ordered him to take them under his arm and conducted him out as his ſecretary.

In all there were about forty prieſts murdered at the Abbey, which added to thoſe at the Carmes, make in the whole about a hundred and eighty prieſts maſſacred in the ſpace of two or three hours.

To diminiſh as much as poſſible the horror excited by theſe premeditated murders, it was neceſſary to invent ſome plauſible pretext for them. This was not neglected by the jacobins. Whilſt the ruffians were employed in the maſſacre, they were not leſs diligent in ſpreading through Paris the ſtory that the prieſts, and particularly the Archbiſhop of Arles, were the firſt who fired on the guards: and this abſurd tale, notwithſtanding the extraordinary care taken that they ſhould have no arms of any ſort, found credit among ſome. It was ſpread by thoſe who muſt have been intimately convinced of its falſehood. One of

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the guards who conducted M. Bardet to his ſection, addreſſed to that gentleman theſe words, *And that villain the Archbiſhop of Arles had a dart at the end of his cane to defend himſelf.* M. Bardet, who then felt a ſabre at his neck, was in ſuſpenſe which to admire moſt, the inſatiable ferocity of the ruffian who was tempted to murder him, whilſt conducting him to a place of refuge, or the conſummate effrontery of the guard who immediately after the death of the archbiſhop could calumniate him in the preſence of thoſe who ſaw him die.

Other calumnies, equally injurious and equally abſurd were induſtriouſly ſpread, and found credit amongſt the people. It was aſſerted that at an hour appointed, all the prieſts and all the priſoners were to riſe and murder the citizens of Paris. In proof of this plot they brought the little pictures of Jeſus and Mary, which were found on each of the murdered prieſts. Thoſe pictures were the ſymbols or repreſentations of the love of a God made man for the human race, and of that which the Mother of God bore for her Son, and for thoſe whom he had redeemed with his blood. The ſword which pierced the hearts repreſented the exceſs of that love in a God dying upon the croſs. The hearts were repreſented open, as always ready to receive repentant ſinners. The ſword alſo repreſented the exceſs of grief of the bleſſed Mother at the ſight of her Son ſacrificed on Mount Calvary. The zealous catholics had for ſome years, particularly from the beginning of the revolution, endeavoured to inflame their own and their neighbours breaſts with an encreaſed degree of love for God, who had manifeſted ſo much love for us. That love is the principle of our redemption, and by that love they earneſtly ſupplicated Almighty God to avert from France the curſe of impiety, and all thoſe calamities which would neceſſarily fall upon that unhappy country from the hatred of God.

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They were not ignorant that the kingdom had, by many of its ſovereigns, been placed in a peculiar manner under the protection of the Bleſſed Virgin. They united the ſymbols of her love of mankind to that of her Son as a powerful motive to obtain her interceſſion with the Sovereign of Sovereigns. Little did they ſuſpect that their ardent prayers for the good of their country would in the mouths of the jacobins become a fatal conſpiracy againſt that country. The people were weak enough to believe theſe calumnies; they alſo believed that great ſums of money were found upon the prieſts who were martyred, particularly on the Archbiſhop of Arles, though we know from ocular witneſſes that during the three weeks of his captivity he had ſpent large ſums on his indigent fellow priſoners, and had not more than ſix or ſeven louisd'ors at the time of his death. He had alſo ſent conſiderable ſums for the relief of ſome who were not in priſon, to whom he was accuſtomed to ſend alms.

Theſe calumnies in ſome degree produced the effect deſired: they diminiſhed the horror of the murders committed, and diſpoſed the people to bear and to co-operate in thoſe prepared for the following day.

In effect, the third of September was not deſtined for leſs cruelty than the preceding day, though it muſt be acknowledged that rather more precaution was taken to ſave ſome of the deſtined victims. Whilſt their brethren were dying under the ſword at the Carmes, the ninety prieſts confined in the ſeminary of St. Firmin, were in hourly expectation of ſeeing the gates of their priſon thrown open, in conſequence of the decree of exile which had been communicated to them. Henriot the commandant of the ſection, had inſulted them with groſs language, and had threatened them that they ſhould all die. The publicity of his menaces made them imagine that he meant only to frighten

frighten them. They flattered themſelves with theſe expectations, when a butcher's boy found means to get into the ſeminary in ſearch of M. Boulangier, who as ſteward of the houſe enjoyed rather more liberty than others. The boy diſcovered him, and ſecretly ſaid to him, "Save "yourſelf, my friend, this night you will be all murdered." M. Boulangier could not believe that ſuch atrocity could be in agitation, and ſuſpecting ſome ſnare, immediately gave notice of the intelligence he had received to M. Francois the Superior of the houſe. They agreed to ſend a ſervant to the ſection to get information; but they wait in vain for an anſwer. The boy impatient to ſave the life of M. Boulangier ſeeks him again, and when found, again preſſes him to make his eſcape: "All the prieſts, ſays he, who were at the Carmes are now murdered, and in a quarter of an hour it will be too late to make your eſcape." M. Boulangier wiſhed to return to give notice of the danger to his brethren. To eſcape he muſt go through a numerous body of the guards. Whilſt he was deliberating two other young men, animated by the ſame zeal, arrive. They preſs, they conjure him to eſcape without delay, and deceiving the guards by their arms conduct him ſafe out of the houſe. The butcher then takes him by the arm as one of his companions, and in that attitude they ſafely paſs through a large band of the banditti, who were coming to take poſſeſſion of all the avenues to the ſeminary.

Mr. Boulangier now in ſafety offered ſome money to his deliverer. "No," ſays the young man, "I am too well paid by having the happineſs to ſave your life." Mr. Boulangier then aſked him, if he could not endeavour to ſave ſome other of the priſoners, or at leaſt inform them of the fate of their brethren at the Carmes: "I will return immediately," ſaid he, "ſince you are ſafe. O my God, how happy ſhall I be if I ſucceed in ſaving ſome others!" Such was the anſwer of the young man, but

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his prayer and his endeavours were in vain. The avenues were now too ſtrictly guarded. The murderous buſineſs began at an early hour the next morning.

At five o'clock the executioners arrived; the people were already aſſembled, and demanded the enlargement of ſome of the priſoners, with whoſe virtues they were more particularly acquainted. Preſerve for us, ſaid they, our ſaint, ſpeaking of Mr. Hommond, formerly profeſſor in the college of Cardinal le Moine. At the requeſt of the people, he and three others were placed under the protection of the law. The adminiſtrators of the ſection were alſo deſirous of ſaving Mr. Francois, the ſuperior of the ſeminary. His zeal, his generoſity to the people, the mildneſs of his character, a life of good works moſt aſſuredly had deſerved that attention from men, who were daily witneſſes and often partakers of his liberality: but he was the author of ſeveral excellent works, in which he placed the hiſtory and the truths of religion in ſo clear a light that they could not be miſunderſtood by the meaneſt capacity; he was alſo the author of a work, which he called, *His Apology*, in which with great preciſion he unfolded the reaſons which made the conſtitutional oath inadmiſſible. He was therefore a marked man, and ſpecial orders had been given to the ruffians, that on no conſideration he ſhould be permitted to eſcape. Literally obedient to their orders they rejected the interceſſion even of the municipal officers, tore him from their hands to murder him with the reſt.

The executioners firſt examined every part of the ſeminary and turned the prieſts into the ſtreet. The people ſtruck with horror at the ſight of ſo many victims, would not ſuffer them to be murdered before their eyes. They returned therefore into the ſeminary together with their executioners,

executioners, where they were murdered one after another, or precipitated from the windows of the ſeminary.

Amongſt the people who expreſſed their ſavage joy at this bloody ſcene, was a troop of female tygers, who thirſted after human blood, even more than the executioners themſelves. Armed with clubs, they ruſhed eagerly on the victims thrown out of the windows, to take away the little remains of life which might ſtill be in them. Thus periſhed the Abbé Copeine. He was dying in bed: it coſt the ruffians little trouble to precipitate him from the window.

Thus alſo periſhed the Abbé Gros, the charitable paſtor of the pariſh in which theſe horrors were committed. They cut off his head, placed it on a pike, and carried it in triumph, whilſt other canibals dragged the headleſs trunk through the ſtreets. Yet Mr. Gros might, if he had choſen it, have eſcaped. An opportunity was offered the evening before, which he refuſed to make uſe of. "The people, ſays he, know that I am here, and not-"withſtanding the obligations which many of them have "to me, I am one of the principal objects of their fury; "if they find me not here, they will examine every hole "and corner of the houſe, and may diſcover others who "have hid themſelves: I ſhall be the cauſe of their diſco-"very and their murder: it is better that I ſhould die, "and that they be ſaved."

When the ruffians appeared, he ſaw amongſt them one of his pariſhoners. "My friend, ſays he, I know you." "I alſo know you," replied the aſſaſſin, "and have not for-gotten the ſervices you have done me. It is not my fault: the nation has decreed your death, and I am paid for taking away your life!" He made a ſign to the other ruffians to advance, and with them he murders his bene-factor.

factor. They were yet carrying his head upon a pike in triumph when his will was opened: by it he made the poor of his parish his universal heirs.

Mr. de Ber, rector of the parish de la Magdeleine, is also believed to have been massacred on this occasion. He was a man whom it was not possible to hate, simple in his manners, peaceable; the care of his parish, but principally of the poor, to whom he gave all he had, took up his whole attention. His parishoners said of him, he is a good man; but he has not taken the oath. They put in his place a priest who had taken the oath: the hypocritical apostate preached up heresy and the revolution with an air of sanctity. He enjoyed the revenues of the parish, and the people soon forget the unpolished simplicity of his predecessor, but who had greatness of soul sufficient to live poor and to die for his faith. Such are the people who effected the revolution.

The same people had been liberal in their applause to Mr. Mousle, vicar of St. Merry, when he gave proof of weakness by taking the oath of apostasy. He soon repented. The revolution appeared to be at its height in July: he had then resolution enough to retract his oath, and to make his retractation public. He was soon abandoned and persecuted by that same people who had before applauded him. His most ardent wish was to wash away the scandal of his apostasy with his blood, and the ruffians did not fail to gratify his wish.

Mr. Pottier, formerly superior of the Eudists at Rouen, had given still greater scandal. He had understood the oath in a wrong light when it was first proposed, and his example had seduced many both clergy and laymen. God who permitted him to fall for his greater humiliation, did not permit

permit the ſcandal to continue long. Three days after his fall he retracted his error in the moſt ſolemn and public manner. He publiſhed many works to inſtruct the ignorant and to ſtrengthen the weak whom his example had ſeduced. The perſecution obliged him to ſeek refuge in Paris where he became an apoſtle. His diſcourſes, but particularly his ſpiritual retreats were crowded by eccleſiaſtics, who came to prepare themſelves, and by which he prepared himſelf for the crown of martyrdom. He did not fail to receive it from the ruffians, whom he pardoned, and whom he ceaſed not to inſtruct to his lateſt breath.

As at the Carmes, ſo alſo at St. Firmin's, there was a man, who in the midſt of the world, and even in the army, had preſerved the principles, and had practiſed the morals of the goſpel. After a ſervice of forty years, during which he was the example and admiration of his fellow ſoldiers, Mr. John Antony Joſeph Villette, captain in the regiment of Bar, retired to this ſeminary to paſs the remainder of his days in the exerciſes of religion. He had lived here ſix years, with a fervor of a man who had no other object but his own ſanctification. A life of prayer, ſpiritual reading, works of charity and pious meditation had made him ripe for heaven. When the ſeminary was ſeized he was told that on aſking his liberty he would be releaſed. The venerable old ſoldier anſwered, as Mr. Valſons had done at the Carmes: *I am happy to remain where I am, I do not wiſh to be releaſed.* He prepared himſelf for martyrdom by receiving daily the holy communion for the laſt three weeks of his confinement. His life was a model of chriſtan virtue, his death was an example of courage and conſtancy.

Among theſe illuſtrious martyrs were two canons of St. Genevieve, Mr. D'Aval and Mr. Claude Pons. They were

were taken in the ſection of the Pantheon, and as they were not public functionaries, and of courſe not liable to the oath of the conſtitution, the ſection offered to releaſe them on condition of taking the oath of liberty and equality. Of this oath they judged as Meſſ. de Nativel had done, and choſe to die.

Two or three of the clergymen had ſucceeded in ſecreting themſelves in the houſe during the time of the maſſacre: they appeared three days after periſhing with hunger. The ruffians were gone and they eſcaped.

The Abbé Ahuy, well known by his works on mineralogy, was alſo priſoner at the ſeminary. He held his title as confeſſor for his faith in much higher eſtimation than that of academician, and was far from making uſe of this latter title to free himſelf from confinement. His brother academicians judged otherwiſe, and however unwilling he was to be liberated, he was removed by their intereſt before the arrival of the aſſaſſins.

Mr. Tourmanic, grand maſter of the college of Navarre was ſtill nearer death. He was thrown out of a window, and his name is found in all the liſts of the dead. We are now told on the authority of a letter ſuppoſed to have been written by himſelf, the exiſtence of which I have not been able to aſcertain, that he was left for dead, but ſhowing ſome ſigns of life, was taken care of and cured. This circumſtance may be true, though it does not ſeem to agree with the reſt of the conduct of the murderers, or female furies into whoſe hands he fell. They were not contented to take away the remnant of life from thoſe who were thrown out of the window; but they ſtamped on their bodies, and plucked out their eyes with their ſciſſars. They ſeemed to wiſh to prove to the world, that in their wrath they could ſurpaſs the cruelty of the other

other ſex, as much as they ſurpaſſed them in tenderneſs and ſenſibility when they followed the impreſſions of nature.

When the bodies of the prieſts were thrown into carts, leſs for the purpoſe of carrying them to the grave, than for that of inſulting their remains, theſe female monſters were ſeen, together with men, equally loſt to all feeling of humanity, ſitting, dancing upon the dead bodies, hacking their limbs, cutting off legs and arms, and holding them up as tokens of triumph, with the infamous exclamations of, *Long live the nation.*

When the aſhes of the impious Mirabeau were carried in triumph to the Pantheon, the revolutionary legiſlature aſſiſted at the funeral pomp in a body: Nature herſelf here outraged by the horrors committed on the bodies of the moſt holy victims, and this legiſlature peaceably enjoys the pleaſure of having excited the rage of the aſſaſſins, to a pitch almoſt incredible againſt the friends of God and of the king. The records of their ſeſſion does not furniſh a ſingle hint of any meaſure propoſed to put a ſtop to the murders of St. Firmin or of the Carmes. At the Abbey indeed they made or pretended to make ſome effort to ſave a few of the victims. Their deputy Chabot, that apoſtate ſo undaunted when the rage of the populace was to be excited, now it was to be quelled and innocence to be protected, imagined he ſaw a thouſand ſabres ready to fall on his devoted head, and had not courage to open his mouth. Some others, particularly of the Girondin faction, thought the barbarities of September a diſgrace to their revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, and applied to Danton to ſtop the promiſcuous effuſion of blood, and make ſome diſtinction between the guilty and innocent. *There are no innocent*, replied Danton, *I have examined the liſts.* The Girondins, ſo courageous againſt their king, began then firſt to feel what a tyrant is: they trembled before Danton; his executioners

executioners and his accomplices, Robeſpiere, Marat, Manuel, Sergent, Panis, continued the butchery.

The places mentioned were not the only ſcenes of blood. Many were murdered at the Conciergerie, the Bernardins, at the Pont-au-change, and at the Bicetre; at the Place Dauphine they roaſted the victims alive. At this laſt place the martyrs of religion, thoſe of the conſtitution, of ariſtocracy, and of fidelity to their king were mixed together.

Prieſts executed at la Force.

The Abbé Jaques Flauſt, rector of Deſmaiſons, near Paris, who eſcaped from the maſſacre at la Force, has furniſhed us with the following particulars of that event. He was confined there with the Abbé Bertrand, brother of the late miniſter, Mr. Lagerdette, chaplain at Marais, a country vicar whoſe name he does not remember, Mr. Etard, rector of Charonne, and laſtly with Mr. Bottex, a rector of a pariſh in the dioceſe of Lyons, with whom I had the honour to be well acquainted. A novice in all his fervor has not a greater delicacy of conſcience than had this excellent man. In treating on queſtions of the deepeſt reſearch, he was not ſurpaſſed by profeſſors the moſt accuſtomed to thoſe intricacies. His reaſoning was exact, his judgment accurate, his ſpeculation ſublime, and his attachment to truth moſt ſincere; his modeſty was ſuch that while he inſtructed others, he would ſeem to borrow from them the lights he communicated. He was a deputy to the firſt national aſſembly. Often at that time have I ſeen him perplexed between the deſire of viſiting his dear pariſhioners and the obligation he thought himſelf under of remaining in the aſſembly, leſt the cauſe of juſtice and virtue ſhould by his abſence loſe a vote. A zeal ſo well known was not to be permitted to return to his pariſh. He ſupplied the defect of his preſence by his various

various writings, and by his ſending at his own expence the the beſt books he could get for the inſtruction of thoſe committed to his care: in theſe good works and deeds of charity he employed the ſalary which as a legiſlator he thought he had little deſerved.

One thing gave him ſome uneaſineſs in his priſon; it was this; his brethren at the Carmes had been arreſted purely for their religion, whereas he had been confined on account of a letter from Abbé Maury found amongſt his papers. That letter, ſays he, contains nothing againſt the ſtate, and I ſhall die innocent: but I ſhall not have the happineſs to die for my faith. Providence however ſo ordered it that he laid down his life for conſcience ſake.

The oath decreed by the aſſembly on that day on which they impriſoned their king, was preciſely in theſe words: *I ſwear to maintain liberty and equality, and to die in their defence.*

The third oath explained.

At a time when the words liberty and equality had any determinate ſignification, they would have given leſs uneaſineſs to a pious and timorous conſcience. In the preſent circumſtances of France, when the intention of the legiſlators was well known the queſtion was intricate. The queſtion had been diſcuſſed at the Carmes, in ſuppoſition that their lives might have been ſaved by taking that oath. their opinions were divided. We have ſeen that the Meſſ. Nattevelle refuſed to ſave their lives by taking it. The truth of hiſtory obliges us to confeſs, that thoſe who eſcaped the maſſacre, and were conducted to the ſection took that oath. They were told that the legiſlature did not intend to make them alter any article of religion. In the tumult and confuſion they took the oath, but on

on condition only that they ſhould not be underſtood thereby to adhere to ſchiſm or hereſy.

The ſame queſtion had been diſcuſſed at the priſon of la Force. Mr. Bottex and Mr. Flauſt had many and long converſations on the ſubject. The latter ſaw nothing in the oath of liberty and equality repugnant to his principles. By that oath, ſays he, you deny no article of faith; the new conſtitutional religion is not mentioned in it: you may therefore take it without the imputation of hereſy or ſchiſm. It is true the oath is not clear: if it has a good and a bad ſenſe, we are always underſtood to take it in that which is good. We are told that by taking the oath we acknowledge the authority of thoſe who require it, and that the power of the aſſembly is an uſurped power. In this the aſſembly repreſents an unjuſt conqueror, to which no one makes a difficulty of taking an oath of allegiance when he has conquered a town, or taken poſſeſſion of a crown. Laſtly, the oath has not been condemned: men of approved virtue have taken it: we may therefore take it with ſafety.

Notwithſtanding this ſtrong reaſoning Mr. Bottex was not ſatisfied. For the regulation of his own conduct he reaſoned from this undoubted principle, that it is better to expoſe yourſelf to death, than to take a dubious oath: becauſe the fear of calling God to witneſs a falſehood ſhould prevail over the fear of death.

Thus even the difference of opinion among theſe holy men was a ſubject of edification. It is a real curioſity to ſee men in chains, deliberating whether it be lawful or not to make uſe of the means offered them to ſave th ir lives, and how far their conſcience will allow them to accept the favour of their tyrants. Conſcientious doubts in thoſe circumſtances are a ſublime leſſon.

The queſtion has been diſcuſſed by many divines ſince that epoch. Some with Mr. Flauſt think that the oath of liberty and equality is perfectly innocent: the contrary opinion appears to be more exact and better ſupported.

Thoſe who hold the oath unlawful, allow that it is not at leaſt directly repugnant to any article of faith. The national council in ordaining that oath had no religious object in view, but political liberty and political equality only, which is itſelf a reſtriction ſufficient to preſerve the integrity of faith. But are not political inſtitutions themſelves ſubject to the laws of morality? if ſo, an oath may be unlawful though it be not repugnant to faith: it is ſufficient that it contradicts a moral obligation.

Secondly, It is an acknowledged principle that an oath is made in favour of him who requires the oath. Therefore in making the oath of liberty and equality, you promiſe ſomething favourable to the aſſembly which requires it of you: and they require it of you to aſcertain your allegiance in ſupport of the uſurpations they had made on the king and the government.

Thirdly, It is not lawful to take an oath of doubtful meaning, becauſe it is not lawful to call God to witneſs a captious or equivocal promiſe.

Fourthly, If the oath be of uncertain meaning, you are always ſuppoſed to take it in the ſenſe intended by thoſe who propoſe it. That ſenſe is made known by the circumſtances, the actions, the character, the intereſt, the principles of thoſe who preſcribe it. When the aſſembly requires you to ſwear to ſupport liberty and equality, they do not require you to ſupport that liberty or that equality of juſtice, which are the ornament and ſupport of every well regulated ſtate, but that which they have de-

fined

fined in their decrees founded on the rights of man. The liberty they make you ſwear to ſupport, is that pretended national liberty, in virtue of which they thought themſelves authoriſed to overturn the government, to treat their lawful ſovereign as the moſt unworthy and moſt criminal of ſubjects: a liberty which diſſolves all the ties of ſociety, a liberty which forget ſ to-day, what it ſwore yeſterday, and will forget to-morrow what it ſwore to-day, a liberty from which anarchy, and all the horrors we have ſeen muſt neceſſarily flow.

The oath of equality is not leſs exceptionable. On the ſtrength of this principle were deſtroyed the clergy, the nobility, and all the feudal rights. This is evident in all the conduct and all the reaſonings of the revolutioniſts. It is not poſſible with a ſafe conſcience to ſwear to ſupport ſuch a catalogue of error and injuſtice.

You will perhaps ſay, that you only ſwore to ſupport liberty and equality according to law. But according to what law? Evidently according to that law which has been eſtabliſhed by the aſſembly and the people, according to that law which has dethroned the ſovereign, and has authoriſed and ſupported all the horrors of the revolution.

It is true that it is not unlawful to take an oath of allegiance to an uſurper; but it is not lawful to take an oath to ſupport the principles on which his uſurpation is founded, and from which his crimes follow. But this preciſely is what you ſwear, when you take the oath of liberty and equality in the ſenſe of the revolution. You do not ſwear to do what the laws of God permit, you ſwear to ſupport doctrinal principles, which are fraught with every crime.

But your intention is not, you will ſay, to ſupport liberty and equality in the revolutionary ſenſe. You

are then guilty of deceit. The oath is propoſed to you with no other view than to ſupport the revolution. If you take it in any other ſenſe, you take it with a mental reſtriction; it is a real fraud, a real deceit. You will not ſay that it is lawful to call God to witneſs a fraud, yet this you muſt do if you mean to maintain that it is lawful to take the oath in any other ſenſe than that in which it is propoſed, that is in the ſenſe of the revolution, as a principle approving and confirming all the crimes on which the revolution is founded.

By much the greater number of prieſts underſtood the oath in this ſenſe. They agreed that the circumſtances were delicate, and the formula of the oath ambiguous: but God, ſaid they, permits theſe ſnares to be laid for his ſervants to try their virtue, and to ſeparate more effectually the chaff from the corn. The queſtion however not having been decided by any ſuperior authority, each one followed his own opinion. Many of high reputation for virtue took the oath of liberty and equality. Others choſe rather to die, than take an oath which they judged doubtful.

At the priſon of la Force this difference of opinion had more effect than elſewhere. The ſmall number of prieſts ſaved at the Carmes and St. Firmin were conducted to the ſection. At la Force the executioners kept them priſoners till they heard the oath.

Death of Mr. Bottex.

When Mr. Bottex appeared before Meſſ. Hebert and l'Huiller, the municipal officers now made judges of the dreadful tribunal, he found little difficulty in proving that his correſpondence with Abbé Maury contained nothing treaſonable or injurious to the nation: he was therefore acquitted: but that acquittal was a ſevere trial.

At

At la Force, the priſoner who was acquitted was delivered over to ſome of the ruffians. The captain of the band went firſt, crying out, *Long live the nation.* In this order they arrived at the gate. Here ſtood ſixty cannibals drawn up in a line to the extremity of the ſtreet, which was cloſed by a heap of dead bodies thrown one upon another.

When a condemned priſoner was conducted to the gate, the ſignal of death was the watch word, *To the Abbey!* The moment he croſſed the threſhold of the door he was ſtunned with their clubs: their pikes and ſabres completed the reſt. If he did not fall with the firſt blows, he had no way to eſcape but through the lane formed by a double row of executioners, and terminated by a mountain of ſlaughtered carcaſſes.

When the captain conducted a priſoner who was acquitted, he came firſt to the gate with a cap upon the point of his ſabre raiſed above his head. To the cry of, *Long live the nation*, he added, *Pardon to a good citizen.* The executioners and the populace, who filled the ſtreets, windows, and tops of houſes, ceaſed not to repeat, *Long live the nation*, till the priſoner preceded by his Marſeillois leader, and conducted by his four guards, arrived at the trophy of dead bodies at the end of the ſtreet. He was there releaſed by his guards: the Marſeillois placed himſelf exactly before the priſoner, and with his hand extended over the dead bodies, pronounced the oath of liberty and equality. On this occaſion a profound ſilence was obſerved. If he repeated the oath, the executioners in the laſt ranks opened a paſs for him, and he was at liberty. If he refuſed to take the oath, the guards, who had conducted him, ſacrificed him that moment, and his body added one more trophy at the end of the ſtreet.

Thus

Thus M. Bottex was conducted, and thus he died, and went to receive the reward of an innocent life and a guiltleſs conſcience; preferring death to the anxiety which a doubtful oath might occaſion to his pure mind.

Thus alſo died M. Etard, rector of Charonne, and the Abbé de la Gardette. The latter was ſo little diſturbed with his priſon, or the apprehenſion of its conſequences, that having a talent for poetry, he compoſed in priſon a work in verſe, which he called the Paſtor in chains. He ſung and rejoiced in death, like the ſwan, that hath not tarniſhed the brilliancy of his plumage.

At the foot of this trophy of dead bodies we muſt now exhibit a ſcene of a different kind, in the murder of an illuſtrious victim, the Princeſs of Lamballe. Her attachment to the royal family is well known. She had retired in ſafety to London, where ſhe enjoyed all the honours and reſpect due to her rank and perſonal accompliſhments, all which ſhe voluntarily relinquiſhed, to partake of the dangers to which ſhe ſaw the king and queen expoſed. She was firſt confined in the Temple, and was afterwards ſent to the priſon of la Force. Her fidelity was a crime, which could not be pardoned by the Jacobins.

Her death was a ſacrifice moſt acceptable to their rage: The maſſacre began early in the morning at la Force; ſhe was not therefore put to death in the beginning of it. It was in the open day they wiſhed to ſacrifice that precious victim. At three in the morning ſhe was witneſs to the firſt preparations making for her execution. An aſſaſſin, who was one of the two to whom they gave the name of judges of the people, went into the quarter in which the female priſoners were confined, informing the guards and aſſaſſins in the courts, that by order of the people he was going to interrogate the Princeſs of Lamballe; that he ſhould

ſoon

ſoon return and inform them of the reſult. He did return, but kept a profound ſilence as to what paſſed. The courage and conſtancy of the Princeſs had covered him with confuſion without diminiſhing his rage. At ſeven o'clock he returned, attended with a company of twenty men armed with pikes and bayonets, ſaying, "Citizens, we "are going to bring before you the Princeſs of Lamballe." In effect, ſhe ſoon appeared, dragged by the hair of the head into the court where the victims waited their final ſentence. In this court, with invincible courage and undiminiſhed dignity, ſhe waited till nine o'clock, ſtanding and refuſing the convenience of a ſeat when offered, in expectation of certain death, whilſt ſhe ſaw many of the other victims hurried to the dreadful tribunal and to death.

At nine ſhe was called before the bloody Duumvirs. They reproached her with being an accomplice with the queen in her crimes againſt the nation. She anſwered, I know no crimes againſt the nation of which the queen is guilty.—You were an accomplice in the conſpiracy againſt the people on the 10th of Auguſt. I call God to witneſs that I am ſtill ignorant of any ſuch conſpiracy.—You have correſponded with the emigrated princes, particularly with the Prince of Condé, whoſe letter is before your eyes. To correſpond with a relation is no crime, and that letter contains not a word againſt the nation. Swear with us an eternal hatred to the king, queen, and royalty. That oath is foreign to the ſentiments of my heart. I will not take it. On this anſwer the Duumvirs pronounced the fatal word, *Releaſe*, (élargiſſez) and the princeſs was dragged to the gate.

From the gate ſhe is conducted through the double line of aſſaſſins to the place of execution: theſe ruffians, with inſult in their countenances and the bittereſt reproaches on their tongues, quit their poſts to obſtruct her paſſage, and with

with their hands ſtill reeking with human blood ſtroke the cheeks of the auguſt victim. Amidſt theſe inſults her courage remains unſhaken: ſhe remains unmoved even at the ſight of the dead bodies. At the foot of this trophy, where the oath of liberty and equality was required of other priſoners, the princeſs is commanded to kneel, and to aſk pardon of the nation. "I have not injured the "nation: and will not aſk its pardon."—Your releaſe is the price of your obedience. "I expect no favour from "the hands of ruffians, who dare to call themſelves the "nation."—Once more obey, kneel down and aſk pardon if you wiſh to live.—"No: I will not bend my "knee—No: I will aſk no pardon, no favour from "you."

Her ſoul was ſuperior to fear: ſhe remained unſhaken: *Kneel and aſk pardon was re-echoed by a thouſand voices*; but in vain. Two ruffians then ſeize each an arm of the princeſs, and by pulling alternately on each ſide nearly diſlocate her limbs. With all the ſtrength ſhe can gather ſhe exclaims, "Go on, ruffians, I will not aſk pardon." In a rage to ſee themſelves thus overcome, the ruffians ruſh on her, and with repeated blows of their ſabres lay open her body. Her head, which was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the length and beauty of the hair, was ſoon ſeen on a pike; her heart, after being bit by one of the aſſaſſins, was carried about in a baſon. They were carried in triumph through all the ſtreets of Paris, and at laſt to the Temple. A commiſſary who attended the king, there called him to the window to view the horrid ſpectacle; his companion, more humane, prevented his majeſty from approaching it. A fortunate fainting fit prevented the queen from ſeeing it.

To ſtrip the body naked, and leave it expoſed on the top of the other murdered victims, was the leaſt of the outrages

outrages offered to it. It remained there till the maſſacre was over. Mr. Flauſt ſaw it there late in the night between the 3d and 4th of September, when he was conducted thither by the executioners.

To form a juſt idea of the men to whom the revolutionary meaſures, and the lives of the citizens of Paris were at this time committed, it would be neceſſary for the reader to be perſonally acquainted with M. Flauſt.

This worthy eccleſiaſtic, after having ſuffered much, was at laſt delivered over to the care of two municipal officers called Le Clerc and Ducheſne, men of the loweſt birth and education, hardly able to read; both of them ſo ignorant of the duties with which they were charged, that Mr. Flauſt was obliged to inſtruct them in what manner the verbal proceſs was to begin; both of them ſo extremely ſtupid, that they were forced to read over and over again things the moſt pointedly ſevere againſt the revolution before they could diſcover whether they were for or againſt it. The revolution in rhyme, a paper found in the pocket of M. Flauſt, was greatly above their comprehenſion. M. Flauſt, in anſwer to their queſtions, told them that he lived at Conflans with the Benedictin nuns, that he ſerved their church, and was of the Roman Catholic religion. The commiſſaries were eager to diſcover a conſpirator in this confeſſion, and one of them, Le Clerc, cried out to his companion, "*We have him now: "behold a frank confeſſion. It is not we*, it is he himſelf "that declares that he profeſſes the Roman catholic reli- "gion in the church of the Benedictins at Conflans." Then turning to the banditti who had arreſted M. Flauſt, the miſcreant added, "Gentlemen, or rather comrades, "behold he is a lawful prize that you have brought us. "We have now got the thread ——."

On the authority of a fragment of a ſong, written to invite the Prince of Condé to re-eſtabliſh peace in France, theſe commiſſaries had aſſured a municipal officer of grave deportment, that they had diſcovered all the connection of the conſpiracy of the Prince of Condé and the emigrants of Coblentz. In conſequence of many abſurdities of this nature, M. Flauſt was committed priſoner to la Force as a principal agent of the prince. Fortunately the reaſon of his commitment was not entered in the gaoler's book. The judges, not knowing that he was a prieſt, had pronounced his pardon the night between the 2d and 3d. M. Flauſt being acquainted with the porters, was in hopes of making his eſcape without being obſerved by the populace. This miſtake and his wiſh to avoid the oath of liberty and equality, concerning which he had not yet formed a decided opinion, made him witneſs of many horrors, and nearly coſt him his life. Neither the favour of the porters, nor the teſtimony of one of the ruffians who had heard him acquitted, were ſufficient to prevent him from being again carried before the new tribunal, and again experiencing what kind of men thoſe are who in revolutions are inveſted with power.—Brought a ſecond time before the tribunal, he waited his trial with anxiety. The leader of the Marſeillois ſaw and knew him. "What do you do here comrade, ſays he: you have been already judged." . . . "I was judged and acquitted "yeſterday, ſays M. Flauſt, and I was ſent to a place of "ſafety." . . . . "Safety! replies the Marſeillois, there is "no ſafety here: you did very ill to remain here. The "people are now waiting for their victims, and thirſt for "blood. *Behold the judges before you: they neither "know what to do, or what they ought to do. They will "judge black white, and white black, as it may happen "to come into their heads.*" This he ſaid at the elbow of the judges themſelves, with a confidence which ſhewed that he knew them well, without fearing them in the leaſt.

leaſt. He adviſed M. Flauſt to anſwer no queſtions, but to aſſert, that having been judged the day before, he was not liable to a ſecond trial. He followed the advice, and was again acquitted. The dreadful ceremony of the oath ſtill remained; the account of which, and the impreſſion it made upon him, I ſhall give from the memoir which he has been pleaſed to furniſh me with on that ſubject.

"It is not poſſible for me to expreſs the horror I felt, when following ſtep by ſtep the regulator of this horrid tragedy. I arrived at the fatal gate. I had indeed heard of an army of murderers, of their imprecations and blaſphemies; my ears had even been aſſailed by the confuſed noiſe of their horrid outcries for more than twenty-four hours; but I had them now in full view. In the dead of the night their long ſabres glittered by the light of the lamps, and of flambeaux and torches ſhaking in the hands of two hundred female furies. The cries of *Vive la nation* from the mouths of the cannibals thundered in my ears, and I walked on a pavement covered with dirt, mixed with the blood of four hundred victims, whom I had ſeen or heard conducted to death before me. In the midſt of my way one of the ruffians quitting his rank came to me, ſaying, *Vive la nation*, brother; you are my comrade, and a good citizen. What a brotherhood, and what an embrace, when the aſſaſſin applied his face ſtained with the hearts blood of the victims he had murdered to my cheek! I was ſtupified with horror. In this ſtate I arrived at the heap of dead bodies, on which the headleſs trunk of Lamballe lay, with her arms extended, and the lower part of her body hanging down, ſo that her feet nearly touched mine. What a ſpectacle! what an object to crown my agony after twenty-ſix hours of trouble, fright, and horror. In a ſtate of mind like this, when reaſon and reflection were incapable of exertion, what ſentiment

ſentiment could occur but that which inſtinct offered, of ſaving, if poſſible, the remains of my life. The oath of liberty and equality was baniſhed from my mind. At that moment the aſſaſſin, my conductor, ſtretching his hand over the bodies, pronounced, and ordered me to pronounce the oath. I endeavoured to recollect myſelf, and all the reaſons which I had formerly urged in favour of the oath immediately occur, and not one of thoſe on the oppoſite ſide preſented itſelf. I feared to die a martyr to an opinion, not to faith. I heſitated for a moment, and the ſwords of the aſſaſſins were advancing to take away my life, though at that inſtant I did not perceive it. In a word, I took the oath; but how, I cannot tell. The crowd opened, and I was permitted to retire. My reaſon and reflection now returned. What have I done, O my God! if the oath be againſt thy law, I repent of it; I will go and retract it. But will that be right, will it be prudent? and will my recantation make my cauſe the cauſe of God, and that of a martyr? O God, how happy ſhould I have been, if with my brethren at the Carmes I had ſhed the laſt drop of my blood! my mind would not have been racked with doubt."

M. Flauſt abſorbed in theſe uneaſy reflections had not obſerved that he was followed by four of the ruffians, who now invited him to drink with them, and to rejoice at his deliverance.

It is wrong to condemn a man who is his own accuſer; or rather, who cannot determine whether he be guilty or not, or whether he enjoyed a ſufficient degree of liberty to become reſponſible for what he did. Let us rather pity him for being ſo weak as to let that falſe idea make ſo deep an impreſſion on his mind. *I will only be a martyr to an opinion.* It is preciſely becauſe the lawfulneſs of the oath was a matter of opinion only, that he would have been

been a martyr to his duty by refuſing to take it. The more uncertain that opinion was, the greater was the obligation to prefer death to the oath, according to the laws of that ſtrict morality, which ſays, Die rather than expoſe yourſelf to ſwear what is not true, to call the God of all truth to witneſs a falſhood.

Perhaps Mr. Flauſt was led into a miſtake by the trouble and agitation of mind under which he laboured; when his duty was clear, he has not heſitated to embrace it. Since he left France, the rectory of Dampiere was offered to him: at Calais, when embarking for England, he was offered the choice of many pariſhes. He preferred baniſhment from his country to thoſe offers, which were to be purchaſed by taking the oath of the pretended civil conſtitution of the clergy condemned by the church, as he certainly would have preferred death to any oath which he had judged unlawful.

There were five or ſix other prieſts waiting for their ſentence with M. Flauſt. They were condemned and executed, excepting one vicar, who ſeemed to be forgotten by men, and preſerved by providence to give the laſt abſolution to ſuch as were called to die. He was a young man, whoſe name M. Flauſt does not remember. Often perſecuted and often arreſted, when called before his judges he gave them in plain language the moſt intereſting part of his adventures. "I am, ſays he, the ſon of a "plain countryman. You may take away my life, you "cannot reſtore me that of my father. I was ſurrounded "by a mob, that wiſhed to take away my life becauſe I "refuſed to take an oath which my conſcience told me I "could not take. My father ruſhed into the crowd to "ſave my life: they murdered him, and he fell at my "feet. I would with pleaſure have laid down my life to "ſave his. They were going to murder me alſo, when

"ſome

"ſome men on horſeback arrived and ſnatched me from "their hands, The judges in my own country would not "condemn me: you may, if you pleaſe. What is life to "me? You cannot reſtore me my father's." The aſſaſſins themſelves could not reſiſt the ſimple, but pathetic eloquence of this narration. The death of his father, and his quality of being the ſon of a poor countryman perhaps alſo pleaded in his favour: they put on him a ſoldier's uniform, and ſaved his life.

When the ruffians came firſt to the priſon, there were about eight hundred and fifty perſons confined there: the women were ſpared: the criminals who were confined for theft, or other miſdemeanors, were treated as brethren, on condition of enrolling themſelves in the ſervice of the revolution. All the reſt, to the number of ſix hundred at leaſt were put to death. M. Flauſt, from whom we have learned theſe particulars, was an eye witneſs of many of them, and learned the reſt from the two porters who had protected him, and formerly belonged to his pariſh. This evidently proves that all the printed liſts of the perſons maſſacred here and elſewhere are greatly defective. In thoſe liſts are counted, for example, one hundred and ſixty prieſts murdered at la Force, and eighty ſix at the Conciergerie; yet we certainly know from an eye witneſs, that at the laſt place in particular, the murders were perpetrated with inconceivable rapidity, and that with very little interruption they continued for twenty-ſix hours. At la Force they continued three times as long: they began on the ſecond of September at night, and with very ſhort intervals continued till late on the fifth. We muſt not therefore be ſurpriſed if many people make the number of the murdered perſons very conſiderable. The common opinion at Paris, when I left that city, was that the number was not leſs than twelve thouſand. Louvet the legiſlator, and one of the conſpirators of the 10th of

Auguſt,

Auguſt, than whom no one had better information, did not think it any exaggeration when he ſaid the number of ſlain was twenty-eight thouſand.

The object of this hiſtory will not permit us to enter into the detail of all the murders committed on this occaſion: it is confined to thoſe of the eccleſiaſtics. Of theſe ſome yet remain of a moſt horrid nature. Before I left Paris, I had heard of the exceſſes committed in the *Place Dauphine:* but whatever idea I had formed of a jacobiniſed mob, I could not believe that tygers were ſuch tygers, devils ſuch devils, or rage ſuch rage, as to give any credit to thoſe horrors. Other writers have now publiſhed them to the world, otherwiſe I ſhould poſſibly have heſitated to make them public. Thus circumſtanced it is my duty as an hiſtorian to tranſmit them to poſterity. Write the truth, and all the truth, is the firſt duty of him who undertakes to write hiſtory. It is proper that the world ſhould learn what a revolution is, when carried on by men rendered ſavage by pride, rebellion, and impiety: to this rule I ſhall ſtrictly adhere. In the following narration I ſhall only copy a well informed author upon the ſpot, who has publiſhed *well atteſted facts to ſerve for the hiſtory of the preſent age*, under the title of, *An Idea of the Horrors committed at Paris, &c.*

"The populace made a great fire in the Place "Dauphine, at which many, both men and women, were "roaſted. The Counteſs of Perignan, with her three "daughters, were dragged thither. They were ſtripped "naked, rubbed all over with oil, and roaſted at a ſlow "fire. The cries of the ſufferers were drowned with the "ſongs and ſhouts of joy of the cannibals dancing round "the fire. The eldeſt of the daughters, who was not yet "fifteen years of age, begged as a favour that they would "take away her life to put an end to her torments. A

"young

" young man with a piſtol ſhot her through the head. " The mob enraged to be deprived of their victim, ſeized " the young man, and caſt him into the fire, ſaying, that " he ſhould ſuffer in her place."

" When the counteſs was dead, they brought ſix " prieſts. The cannibals cut off a piece of the counteſs's " fleſh, and preſented it to the prieſts to eat: they ſhut their " eyes and made no anſwer. The oldeſt of the prieſts, a " man of about ſixty years of age, was then ſtripped and " roaſted. The mob told the other prieſts, that perhaps a " piece of the fleſh of a prieſt would be more to their taſte " than that of a counteſs. The five prieſts, after embracing " each other, threw themſelves into the flames: the bar- " barians endeavoured to draw them out to prolong their " torments: but they were already ſtifled with the flames " and ſmoke."

The ſame author furniſhes us with another anecdote of ſuch unnatural barbarity, that unleſs it had been accompanied by ſo many circumſtances, and told in ſo great a detail, that ſeem to aſcertain its authenticity, I ſhould not have ventured to repeat it, though thoſe who are acquainted with the doctrine, and the ſecret reſolutions of the jacobins, will eaſily ſee that ſuch barbarity is not foreign to their principles.

" On Monday evening at ten o'clock, a man named " Philip, living in the ſtreet of the temple, came to the " club of the jacobins, of which he was a member. He " carried with him a large coffer: he mounted the tribune, " and made a long diſcourſe on patriotiſm, which he con- " cluded by ſaying, that every patriot who preferred the " ties of blood and of nature to patriotiſm, ought to be

" conſidered

" conſidered as an ariſtocrat, and that every jacobin ought " to deſtroy his friends and neareſt relations, if they were " not patriots. He then opened his trunk, and drew out " of it the heads of his father and mother, *which I have* " *cut off*, ſaid he, *becauſe I could not perſuade them to hear* " *the maſs of a conſtitutional prieſt.* His diſcourſe and his " parricide received the loudeſt applauſes of the aſſembly, " and it was decreed that the two heads ſhould be buried " in the hall of the aſſembly, under the buſts of Brutus " and Ankerſtrom, behind the preſident's chair."

Some will think it prudent to doubt the truth of this fact. Horrid and dreadful it certainly is: but if the cauſe, the principles and character of the revolution be attentively conſidered, it will not appear improbable. It began in impiety, it was neceſſary that it ſhould advance and triumph in atrocity.

Connection with jacobin principles.

When the heart of man is corrupted, he will do even cruel things which his reaſon will not approve. But when his reaſon and his principles are ſo far blinded as to juſtify in his own breaſt the commiſſion of thoſe crimes, when this error of the underſtanding tends to cruelty, and his zeal to propagate it becomes enthuſiaſm, when he can perſuade himſelf that to break through all the ties of nature, is to ſacrifice to the happineſs of mankind, when he can perſuade himſelf that he is a philoſopher and a God on earth, becauſe he believes there is no power in heaven or in hell to reſtrain his will, when barbarity to him is heroiſm, becauſe his principles have extinguiſhed every humane feeling; when he can ſay to himſelf, let the world become jacobin, or let it periſh; when in the execution of his ſavage enthuſiaſm, he can aſſociate to himſelf murderers and ruffians, and every thing that is vile and wicked upon earth, with pikes, hatchets

hatchets and poniards, what is the crime of which the imagination can form an idea, which will revolt the heart of ſuch a man, which his hand will not execute, in the perpetration of which he will not glory?

It is not then ſurpriſing that on the ſecond of September, a Philip ſhould bring the heads of his father and his mother, as proofs of his patriotiſm, but it is ſurpriſing that there ſhould remain a father or a mother alive who were not jacobins, who had a ſon who was one. The rights of man, of ſavage man, the hatred of God and of kings, of the rich and the great, of the nobles, and of the prieſts, had raiſed theſe monſters to that pitch of enthuſiaſtic rage that they no longer regarded parents, friends or benefactors. The Roman who doomed his ſon to death, and the modern Ravaillac were their only gods. A father who was a royaliſt, was to them an enemy, a brother who was a prieſt or a religious man, was a monſter, and there was not one of them, who on that day would not have armed himſelf with the pike of Carra, the bayonet of Santerre, or the poniard of Marat to deſtroy them.

If there were any amongſt the deeply initiated jacobins, who would have refuſed to commit a parricide with their own hands, there was not one who would not have apologiſed for it, if it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh the revolution. They formed a ſect, and were to be found every where, eſpecially in Paris, where they had obtained all power. The mob of the ſuburbs, the ſix hundred Marſeillois, and the two hundred cut-throats received orders from none but them.

The

State of Paris on the second of September.

The Pariſians, to the number of three or four hundred thouſand trembling with fear, ſtupified, without connection, unanimity or head, and too great cowards to ſupport thoſe who were deſirous of extricating them out of the abyſs, into which they had plunged themſelves by their conſtitutional rebellion; thoſe very men lately ſo triumphant at the deſtruction of the Baſtile, at the humiliation of their king, the miniſters, the nobles, the court and parliaments, now diſmayed, grow pale with fear at the ſight of the jacobins, dread to meet the banditti, and dare not whiſper a complaint for fear of drawing a ſuſpicion, information and the executioners on their own heads. Of theſe rebellious citizens ſome hid themſelves in the moſt obſcure receſſes, others ſtill more criminal join the ruffians, and go in queſt of freſh victims for fear of falling victims themſelves. Some of theſe daſtard men, who wiſhed nothing ſo much as the arrival of Brunſwick, to free them from the yoke of theſe municipal tyrants, run with eagerneſs to offer their treaſures, their arms, their horſes to thoſe very tyrants to drive him back. Others equally fearing and hating the jacobins, flocked to the ſections to take the oath of liberty and equality, and the hate of kings, whoſe fall they regretted. Many thouſands eagerly liſted under the banners of Dumourier to protect the capital, and their affected zeal for Paris, was only to have an opportunity of leaving a city which devoured its inhabitants. Some whoſe inclination or duty led them to wiſh to ſee an end put to theſe diſorders, waited in ſilence for the exertions of public authority. They waited in vain: whilſt a victim remained to be ſacrificed, the law was ſilent.

Such was the aſtoniſhing ſpectacle exhibited in the metropolis of the revolution during the firſt week of September. The time was not very diſtant when the authors of theſe

theſe exceſſes would become the execration of mankind, when the infamy of having planned, contrived and prepared them would produce diviſion even among the jacobins. Briſſot and the faction of la Gironde, reſerving to themſelves the honor of the infamous conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt, endeavoured to throw on Danton, Robeſpierre, Marat, and the municipal jacobins, the atrocities of September. From their diſputes it became evident that the horrors of the 10th of Auguſt, and the cruelties of the 2d of September, ſo far as the prieſts were involved, were all the effects of one and the ſame deep laid conſpiracy.

The conſpirators were all aſſembled on the buſineſs of the 10th of Auguſt. The letters of Briſſot to the jacobins, and of Louvet to Robeſpierre give a diſtinct account of the deſigns, the plots, and the meaſures taken for that day.

Briſſot and Louvet glory in the treaſons of the 10th of Auguſt, and their ſucceſs, whilſt they charge others with thoſe of the 2d of September. Nevertheleſs thoſe very municipal officers, whom their treaſon had created, and who directed all the operations of the ruffians on the 10th of Auguſt, thoſe very municipal officers on that ſame day, produced a liſt of the prieſts whom they intended to murder: the liſt was laid on their bureau, ſeen and read there. Of this I cannot doubt. That very evening there came to me a man, who addreſſed me in the following words. "I knew that there was at the town-houſe a liſt of proſcribed prieſts. Notwithſtanding the difference of our "opinion, the intereſt I take in what concerns you made "me wiſh to ſee it. I did examine it, and ſoon found "your name there."

The

The very day after the 10th of Auguſt, the ruffians, with this liſt in their hands, began to take, and to impriſon the prieſts. On the 12th and 13th the ſections, with their preſident, aſſeſſors and ſecretaries, followed by their pikes and hatchets, came to my lodgings and thoſe of other clergymen, to arreſt ſuch as were more particularly pointed out to them, and to draw up their verbal proceſs.

They were not taken into cuſtody in order to be tranſported out of the kingdom. The precaution was perfectly unneceſſary. Such was their ſituation at home, that inſtead of dreading, the prieſts courted exile. Far from wiſhing to tranſport them, the magiſtrates refuſed to grant them paſſports to quit the kingdom. Other views were then entertained, and nothing leſs than a hecatomb muſt bleed. We need no other proof that the maſſacre at Paris, was not the effect of a ſudden commotion which no authority could prevent. In a town where 60,000 men are in arms, where forty-eight ſections are permanent, where the convention and the municipality never quit their poſts, who can believe that thirty aſſaſſins could ſuddenly execute the maſſacre at the Carmes, and return next day to the butchery at St. Firmin, if the conſtituted authorities had taken the leaſt precaution againſt theſe murderers.

Again, if this commotion was ſo ſudden and unforeſeen, that the magiſtrates could not poſſibly prevent it, how came the banditti to be paid for their atrocious deeds? I ſhall not mention the murderer who came to the ſection of Luxembourg, to complain that he had been ill paid: I ſhall omit the ſtory of the woman who preſented herſelf at the ſection of the ſuburb of St. Victor, to demand an increaſe of ſalary for her huſband, alledging that he had murdered ten prieſts at St. Firmin. I will only inſiſt on the evidence of a legiſlator, of Louvet, who has recorded the legal payment

ment made to four murderers by the clerk Frépoul, by order of the municipality. This order is thus worded; "*Mr. Vallé de Villeneuve*, treaſurer of the town, *is* "*ordered to pay to the four bearers*, their names are not "eaſily deciphered, *the ſum of twelve livres to each for* "*the expedition of the prieſts at St. Firmin.*"

It is then evident that theſe philoſophical aſſaſſinations were contrived and executed by a combination of philoſophical and municipal murderers.

It is a melancholy reflection that hiſtory ſhould perpetuate the memory of an atrocious, a premeditated maſſacre of ſo many innocent men; but when poſterity is to be warned againſt the admiſſion of the plague, it would be a crime to conceal its ravages. Pethion, the mayor, gives us a ſtrong proof of the ſyſtematical proceſs in this tranſaction, where he gives an account of his viſit to the priſons of la Force, where he took care not to arrive till the third day of the maſſacre. "There," ſays he, "I ſaw two municipal officers in their ſcarfs; three men "ſitting careleſly with a table before them, the regiſters "lying open; and calling forth the priſoners; others "queſtioning them; others acting as judge and jury; a "dozen executioners with their fire arms covered with "blood, ſome armed with bludgeons, others with ſabres "and cutlaſſes, executing the ſentence on the ſpot; the "judges and the executioners appearing as perfectly ſecure "as if the law had commanded their ſervices; and the "aſſaſſins inſiſting on being paid for their labour."

Pethion does not tell us what hiſtory will tranſmit to future ages, tha this cool deliberate profligacy, this apparent ſecurity of judges and executioners was the effect of ſtifled remorſe, and the ſeeds of humanity extinguiſhed by

by the principles of a revolutionary philoſophy. Theſe principles ſeparating the idea of a God from public authority, place it whole and entire in the hands of the multitude, now ſtiled the people. Thus an aſſociation of ruffians become the people; they are put in motion by the jacobins, and the executioner obeys the law of the people. Nature, religion and remorſe are baniſhed far from them. The cool deliberate perpetration of maſſacre, and every horrid deed ſprings from the theory of a Condorcet, a Pethion, a Briſſot, a Barnave, and from the ſchool of Rouſſeau their maſter.

Municipal officers, thus ſyſtematically ferocious, were not ſatisfied with turning the capital into a people of ſlaughtering executioners and ſlaughtered victims; at a moment when no man thought himſelf ſafe in his houſe, when theſe continued maſſacres were attributed to a ſudden popular commotion; the common council iſſued an order which will remain a perpetual monument of their flagitious project, to ſpread over the whole ſurface of the empire the fatal ice-houſe of Avignon, the maſſacre of September, and all the foul murderous deeds of a Jourdan. At this very moment an addreſs to the French people ſigned and ſealed by Danton, was ſent from Paris, the avowed deſign of which was *to direct their motions*. This addreſs, dated September the third was ſigned by the municipal officers, ſtiling themſelves, *The adminiſtrators of the public welfare, and the ſupernumerary adminiſtrators united.* Among other ſubſcribers were read the following names; Peter Duplan, Panis, Sergent, C. Enfant, Jourdeuil, Marat, de Forges, le Clerc, Celly, repreſentatives of the commons and ſitting in the mayor's court. The addreſs was thus worded; "The common council of "Paris proud of the national confidence, which it will "ever be their ſtudy to deſerve, placed in the front of "every conſpiracy, and determined to ſacrifice themſelves "for

" for the public good, will never flatter themſelves that " they have fully diſcharged their duty, till they have " obtained your approbation, the object of all their wiſhes, " of which they can never think themſelves ſecure till all " the departments ſhall have ſanctioned the meaſures they " have taken to ſave the republic.

" The common council of Paris take the earlieſt oppor- " tunity to inform their brethren in all the departments, " that a part of the ferocious conſpirators who were de- " tained in the priſon, have been put to death by the " people; acts of juſtice which appeared to be neceſſary " to reſtrain by terror the traitors concealed within theſe " walls, at a moment when they were preparing to march " againſt the enemy. And ſurely the whole nation, after " a ſucceſſion of plots, which has brought her to the brink " of the precipice, *will immediately adopt a meaſure ſo* " *neceſſary to the public welfare; and every Frenchman* " *will ſay with the people of Paris; let us march againſt* " *the enemy; but let us not leave behind us a troop of* " *ruffians to murder our wives and children.*"

Thus the conſpirators, themſelves who in all their writings, in all their proclamations, gloried in the conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt, thus the traitors who had brought their country to the edge of the precipice, ſtrove to cover it with torrents of blood, by murdering the many thouſands of prieſts confined in the provinces at Mans, Dole, Angers, Laval, and many other places. Thus the jacobins were to murder every man who had not joined their party. Without a ſingle proof of a conſpiracy they ſtiled all thoſe whom they choſe to murder, *ferocious conſpirators.* They had alighted like ſo many vultures on the dwellings of the clergy; they had ſealed up all their letters, all their papers, and to this day they have not been able to ſhew a ſingle line written by,

by, or to any one of theſe prieſts, which can be conſtrued into a conſpiracy.

The maſſacre of Verſailles.

This invitation to a general maſſacre, did not anſwer all the views of a jacobin municipality. Tired with promiſcuous ſlaughter at Paris, they are to refreſh themſelves in other departments, by a repetition of the ſame atrocities. Among other victims they had ſelected fifty-ſeven perſons, whom decrees of accuſation, paſſed by the national aſſembly, had ſent to be tried by the ſuperior tribunal erected at Orleans. This court had been found too ſlow in its proceedings, too ſparing of blood in its ſentences. A body of pretended patriots forced the priſon doors, and undertook to convey the ſuppoſed traitors to Paris. At the head of theſe appeared the Duke de Briſſac, a deſcendant of thoſe ancient knights, whoſe name, whoſe courage and fidelity, added luſtre and ſtrength to the French monarchy. With him were twenty-ſeven officers of the regiment of Cambreſis, worthy to ſuffer in the ſame cauſe with him, many of whom had been above fifty years in the ſervice. In the ſame company was the late miniſter Deleſſrt, a melancholy victim to his conſtitutional principles or his imbecility. His zeal for the laws of Camus and Target, could not ſave him from the vengeance of Fauchet and Briſſot.

The biſhop of Mendes.

Among the priſoners alſo was Mr. de Caſtellane, biſhop of Mendes. His zeal had been crowned with ſucceſs, in ſecuring his dioceſe from the faſhionable opinions and ſchiſm of the day. His virtues formed ſo marked a contraſt to the vices of his uſurping ſucceſſor, that it could not poſſibly eſcape obſervation. The jacobins entered heartily into all the views of the apoſtate, and determined to remove the biſhop to a diſtance from his flock. Foiled in their firſt attempts, they

had recourſe to the moſt unaccountable calumny. A national guard had been raiſed at Mendes, as in other towns. The expenſe was to be raiſed by an aſſeſſment on the citizens. The biſhop advanced fifty livres. This donation was denounced to the national aſſembly as a fund for a counter-revolutionary corps, becauſe the national guards did not attend the ſervice of the conſtitutional biſhop, and on this ground the aſſembly paſſed a decree of accuſation againſt him. His friends urged him to quit the kingdom, and he had promiſed them he would. He was ſtopped on the road, and having no paſſport, he was detained as a ſuſpected perſon. He might have procured one under another name: when aſked who he was, he anſwered, "I am Caſtellane, biſhop of Mendes," and was conducted to the priſon of Orleans.

The convoy conſiſting of ten crowded carts, and ſurrounded by a numerous guard, arrived at Verſailles on the ninth of September. There the banditti diſpatched from Paris waited for them. The place of execution was marked, and the guards were heard to aſk when they would begin. Briſſac was to die at the front of his ſovereign's palace; and there he fell with his companions, of whom only three or four eſcaped the general maſſacre. The biſhop of Mendes waited the executioner's axe, as the archbiſhop of Arles had done at the Carmes. He ſtood to receive the blow, and expired without uttering a word.

The municipal officers of Verſailles had priſons for the nonjuring clergy. Mr. Gallois, a prieſt of the miſſion, curates and vicars, according to report ſeven in number, were confined in the queen's ſtables. The ruffians diſpatched all theſe at their leiſure, and thus ended the octave of the maſſacre in the church of the Carmes.

At

At the diſtance of ten leagues from Paris, other agents were giving proofs of their implicit obedience to the mandates of the municipality. The mayor of Meaux ſeems to have had early intimation of the preparations made for the maſſacre. Towards the end of Auguſt he ſuffered the mob to make excurſions into the country in queſt of nonjuring prieſts. They were ſucceſſively brought before him. Like Pethion, he affects to have no concern in the proſecution, and is ready to diſmiſs them, after they have ſworn to maintain the civil conſtitution of the clergy. They refuſe to ſwear and are committed. Among them was his own curate, a prieſt of the cathedral, and five other curates and vicars, natives of the city, where he now acted as chief magiſtrate. On the fourth of September a corps of gendarmes arrived from Paris. They had aſſiſted at the maſſacre at the Carmes. They got together four or five porters and opened the priſon doors. They called out the curate of St. Nicholas firſt. One of the gendarmes, acting as commander, judge, and executioner, inſulted him in the groſſeſt terms, and the weight of a club ſoon brought him to the ground, without his uttering a ſingle ſyllable. Pikes, bayonets and ſabres, ſoon diſpatched him. The municipal officers are now in a hurry to ſave the other priſoners, but they came too late. Their interference only haſtened and aggravated the murder of the other ſix. Such had been the brutal fury of the aſſaſſins, that the grave-digger found great difficulty in collecting their heads, bowels, and ſcattered members. Seven laymen detained in the ſame priſon met with the ſame fate; a few only were ſpared as worthy to join the corps.

The ſecond of September at Rheims.

At Rheims, ſtill more diſtant from Paris, the citizens had entered a proteſt againſt the inhuman applauſe of the national aſſembly.

On the firſt of September a body of ruffians, calling themſelves Marſeillois, enter the city with a deſign to exhibit the ſame tragical ſcenes as were then acting at Paris. Their firſt victim was an honeſt clerk of the poſt-office, who had become obnoxious to the jacobins, he refuſing to adopt the creed of the new church. He was followed by the poſt-maſter, Guerin, a man of too much integrity to favour the machinations of the jacobins, by betraying private confidence and his truſt, and of too much firmneſs to approve of the popular commotions which they excited. The venerable Montrozier came next, formerly the king's lieutenant-general at Lille, now ſeventy years of age. Intent only on the ſalvation of his ſoul, and ſpending his time in retirement with his wife, he had taken no part, had delivered no opinion on the revolutions of the day. To blind the conſcience of a man of this ſtamp was a bold undertaking, but the moſt brilliant triumph would crown their ſucceſs. Summoned to take the oath of revolutionary liberty and equality, they conduct him to the town-hall, and there propoſe to him the military teſt, or death. He had often met death and all its terrors in the field of battle, but he had not learnt to forfeit his honour and his conſcience. He anſwered like a ſoldier and a chriſtian. His grey hairs were not reſpected, and he fell breathleſs to the ground. His head was carried on a pike to the gates of this famous city, where the kings of France are crowned. They laid it down on the Paris road, and kicking it before them, cried out, "*Go, and find thy king.*"

Hitherto no prieſt had ſuffered, and the triumph of modern patriotiſm was incomplete. They were not to be diſappointed; but the dungeons of Rheims contained none. At Montchenaux, a village not far diſtant, lived two eccleſiaſtics, Mr. Leſcure, who was honored with the confidence

fidence of the biſhop and the dioceſe, and Mr. le Vacher, the oldeſt canon of the cathedral, two men united by the ties of friendſhip, faith and morals. The inhabitants had long reſiſted the perfidious inſurrections of the jacobins againſt them. On the third of September every thing was ready to make an attack on them. The peaſants of a neighbouring village fly to arms, and inveſt theſe two venerable prieſts. "Come, ſwear this moment," was the cry, "or follow us to Rheims." "We will follow you to Rheims," was the anſwer, "though we well know what there awaits us." During the two hours they were on the road they appeared perfectly compoſed, and encouraged one another to meet the laſt conflict with chriſtian fortitude. It was not long delayed. The moment they reached the town-hall, Mr. le Vacher was pierced through with bayonets. Mr. Leſcure had juſt time to raiſe his hands to heaven, when thrown on the body of his companion, they knocked out his brains with the butt end of their muſkets.

Theſe two victims were no ſooner diſpatched, than a confuſed cry of *Long live the nation*, announced a ſtill more ſolemn murder. Soon appeared a man, who from the number of his years might be conſidered as the dean of Chriſtendom, and from the fame of his virtues the prieſt by excellence. He had been known only by the name of the holy prieſt, the ſaint. This was Pacquot, the curate of St. John. He had begged of God the favor of dying for his faith, and God had heard his prayer. The ruffians broke into his oratory, and found him on his knees reading the prayers for perſons in their agony. A faithful diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt, he delivered himſelf into the hands of the executioners. In their company he croſſed the ſtreets of the city, and amidſt their ſanguinary acclamations read the pſalms of David. On the threſhold of the

the town-hall an attempt was made to murder him, but the mayor interfered. Stepping forward, he ſaid to the ruffians, "What are you about? This old fellow is be-"low your notice. He is a fool, a madman; fanaticiſm "has turned his head." Theſe words rouſed the venerable dean. "No, Sir," ſays he, "I am neither a fool "nor a fanatic. I wiſh you to know that I never was "more in my ſober ſenſes. Theſe gentlemen have ten-"dered me an oath decreed by the national aſſembly. I "am well acquainted with the nature of this oath. It is "impious, and ſubverſive of religion. They leave me the "choice of the oath or death. I execrate the oath, and "chuſe death. I hope, Sir, I have convinced you that I "am perfectly in my ſenſes, and know what I am about." The magiſtrate aſhamed of his officious interference, abandoned him to the diſcretion of the mob. Mr. Pacquot deſires them to ſtop one moment, and thus addreſſes them: "Which of you is to give me the mortal wound?" "I "am the man," ſays one who moved in a ſphere that ought to have diſtinguiſhed him from a horde of ruffians. "Let me embrace you," ſays Mr. Pacquot, "and ex-"preſs my acknowledgments for the happineſs you deſign "me." He then actually embraces him as his deareſt friend, and ſays: "Permit me now to put myſelf in a "poſture to offer my ſacrifice to my God." The citizen raiſes his axe. Mr. Pacquot on his knees, calls aloud on God to pardon him and his executioners. The man whom he had embraced gives him the firſt blow; he falls and expires under their bayonets and ſabres.

On the ſame day was apprehended Mr. Suny, curate of Rilly la Montagne. At the age of eighty he had retired to Rheims, to avoid the perſecution raiſed againſt him by the jacobins in his pariſh. One of the villains had been with him in the morning to beg an alms. Mr. Suny had one hundred livres, and gave him ten. The beggar denounced him to the banditti. He was conducted

to

to the town-hall, and thus accoſted by the magiſtrates: "Mr. Curate, your life is in your own hands; take the "oath if you wiſh to prolong your days here below." "Gentlemen," ſays he, "I had the misfortune to take "this criminal oath. God has given me grace to retract "it. I have thanked him a thouſand times for it. How "happy am I to be able to repair my crime, and the "ſcandal it gave, by the loſs of my life. I once more "beg pardon. Gentlemen, I feel myſelf animated, and "diſpoſed to die rather than repeat my crime." He met death with an air of compunction, and mingled ſentiments of humility and joy. His blood flowed in the ſame channel with that of the holy paſtor who went before him.

On Tueſday, September the 4th, Mr. Romain, curate of Chene le populeux, one of the moſt edifying prieſts of the ſame dioceſe, and Mr. Alexandre, a canon of St. Symphorien, were ſtopped by a patrole as they were quitting Rheims. They were carried to the town-hall, that is, to the ſhambles. Mr. Romain was attacked firſt, and expired pierced with a thouſand wounds. Mr. Alexandre was wounded, but not mortally. This was not enough. The houſes of the catholics, who were known to be particularly attached to the true paſtors, were forcibly ſtripped of a quantity of wood, ſufficient to make a large bonfire. It is prepared, it is lighted under Mr. Alexandre's eyes; and as ſoon as the flames began to ſpread, he was thrown into it. Three times all on fire he broke out, and was as often forced into it by bayonets and pikes. During this inhuman ſport the drums were beating, fifes, fiddles, and trumpets playing, and the monſters were dancing round the ſhrieking victim, and ſinging, *ça ira*, and *Vive la nation*.

This ferocious muſic drowned every other accent during the whole of the maſſacre. But the voice of nature will be heard. Aſſaſſination and brutal rage had prevailed till

the

the fourth of September. On the fifth this ferocious populace felt ſomething like remorſe; ſhame, conſternation and terror, for a moment took poſſeſſion of all their ſenſes. The wild frantic dream is paſſed. But what is ſhame, what is remorſe in minds ſo debaſed? They recover from one delirious fit only to fall into another. They are willing to expiate the death of the curate of Rilly, known only by the liberality of his alms, but it muſt be by another murder. The informer ſtill lives, but he is apprehended, judged, and burnt alive.

The ſecond of September, at Lyons.

Lyons, the ſecond city of the French empire, could not hope totally to eſcape the ſhock which had diſgraced the capital. But luckily the jacobins had here leſs power. Though the perſecution had at intervals been violent, the people of Lyons had ſhewn more activity, and leſs awe of the great club. The jacobins were not unacquainted with their diſpoſitions, and while I attended the mayor's court, to know what they would be pleaſed to order concerning me, I heard one of theſe magiſtrates declare, that to puniſh Lyons and Rouen, it would be neceſſary to ſend them a Pariſian army. For the ſecond of September they contented themſelves with ſending a detachment of their banditti. Their ſucceſs, though horrible, did not anſwer the expectations of Danton and Manuel. Many of the municipal officers threw themſelves between the ruffians and the priſoners to ſtop their murdering hands. All they could not ſave, but they made a rampart of their bodies, they took them into their arms, they preſented their own boſoms to the weapons of the aſſaſſins, and received thruſts rather than ſuffer them to fall on the innocent. It was owing to this active zeal, that of thouſands of eccleſiaſtics denounced to the ruffians, only five fell by their pikes and ſabres. To make themſelves ſome amends

amends for this diſappointment, they cut off the fingers of the deceaſed, and ſtringing them on packthread, they hung them up as a trophy in the public walks of Bellecourt.

The jacobins were diſappointed in other towns, where they had promiſed themſelves a promiſcuous ſlaughter like that of Paris. But they now had an opportunity of ſupplying the defect by the manner of carrying into effect the final decree of perſecution. On the 26th of Auguſt a decree was paſſed, ordering all non-juring eccleſiaſtics to quit the kingdom. They were to be provided with paſſports, ſpecifying their quality, and the reaſon for which they were tranſported. Theſe paſſports the jacobins conſidered as ſo many death-warrants, and indeed Manuel never gave them any other name. For how could it be expected that ſo many non-juring prieſts, avowedly ſuch, ſhould reach the frontiers without meeting ſome ſanguinary club in the way. But even theſe death-warrants were too good for ſome of whom they were determined to make ſtill ſurer game. I am acquainted with a prieſt, who being declared by the ſection an object to the decree, obtained a paſſport, but when it was preſented to the municipality, the ſecretary inſtead of *viſa*, wrote *neant*. Here is a man guilty of diſobedience to the law if he does quit the kingdom, guilty and apprehended if he attempts to quit it without a paſſport, and yet on application he cannot obtain one. Let the reader form to himſelf, if he can, an idea of the nature of the conſtitutional government. I am the man to whom this applies. Pethion found it hard to pronounce on the caſe. I was ordered to preſent a memorial, and to appear before him. I had ſeen too much of theſe gentlemen, and providence was pleaſed to ſave me by other means.

In the courſe of the month of September, paſſports were granted for the tranſportation of the non-juring clergy.

What a ſpectacle was now preſented to the aſtoniſhed world! In the extent of two hundred ſquare leagues, a kingdom hitherto moſt chriſtian, hitherto neither knowing, nor protecting, nor following any paſtors, but thoſe of the religion of Jeſus Chriſt; and this ſame kingdom now-a-days rejecting, proſcribing and expelling, all the prieſts of Jeſus Chriſt, from all the towns and all the villages: all the highways of this empire, crowded by fifty thouſand eccleſiaſtics, cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, curates and prieſts, of all ranks and all orders, hurrying to the ſea-ports, to the frontiers, and leaving France in every direction, caſting a laſt melancholy look on their churches, become the ſeats of apoſtacy, on their flocks abandoned to ravenous wolves; and theſe fifty thouſand prieſts obliged to travel over mountains and croſs ſeas, in queſt of an hoſpitable ſpot, far from their churches, far from their country, which in ſpite of its animoſity they ſtill loved; and all theſe prieſts haunted as they go along with the idea of a king, to whom they have ſworn allegiance, of a queen, of their children, of a family which has ever been the object of their love, their fidelity, and which they now leave confined in the towers of the Temple under the guard of aſſaſſins. Petrified with the idea of a brother, a ſiſter, a father, a mother, of relations and friends, whom they leave in all the confuſion, all the dangers of a lawleſs anarchy! Sinking under the idea of their dioceſans, their pariſhioners, either ſeduced or plunged headlong into the paths of hereſy and apoſtaſy, and calling in vain for their paſtors, for the comforts of religion, for the bleſſing of the miniſtry and the words of life! Dejected and oppreſſed with the idea, that with the miniſters the true faith will for ever quit their unhappy country, that this is the moment to ſhake from their feet the duſt of a kingdom deaf to the voice of the goſpel. No, this precept was not declared to them. Something whiſpered to them that theſe were days of ſevere trial, that a guilty empire ſhould be delivered over

to

to the ſcourges of heaven, and waſhed in torrents of blood; that God, who watched over the ſafety of the miniſters of repentance and mercy, told them that this repentance ſhould one day have place; that they ſhould once reviſit this kingdom to act as miniſters of reconciliation. This was a comfort to them in their flight. They conjured their God to ſhorten the days of his juſtice, to haſten the reign of his mercy, of religion, morality and piety, together with the bleſſings of peace and proſperity, in a country more unfortunate in error, confuſion and anarchy, than they were in their exile.

The prieſts ſacrificed during their tranſportation.

Very different were the ideas entertained by the jacobins on this occaſion. The meaſures they had taken afforded a well-grounded hope, that many of theſe tranſported prieſts would meet with their graves on the road to the frontiers. Indeed many of them watered it with their blood. In Normandy a ſentinel ſtopped Mr. de Pinerot, curate of Chalange, in the dioceſe of Séez; his nephew, a vicar in the ſame dioceſe; Mr. l'Oiſeau, vicar of St. Paterne, in the dioceſe of Mans; Mr. le Lievre, a prieſt of St. Peter de Montfort d'Alcon, on the road to Havre. Their paſſports were called for. They declared them to be prieſts, and immediately an oath was tendered with a promiſe of church preferment. Their anſwer was, that having refuſed to take the oath, they were obeying the decree of tranſportation. The deluded populace cried out, "they are refractory prieſts," and immediately murdered the two firſt. Meſſ. l'Oiſeau and le Livre covered with wounds, are dragged to the banks of the Rille. Here they are again called upon them to take the oath. They again anſwer, "that their conſcience will not permit them to take it." They are plunged into the river, and on their riſing to the ſurface, they are called upon to ſwear, and ſave their lives.

"Not

"No, we cannot, will not ſwear," was the anſwer. They are plunged once more to the bottom, and then drawn out. Upon a repetition of the ſame ſummons, in the agonies of death, they are juſt able to articulate, "*We will not ſwear.*" The monſters with a helliſh malice rankling at their hearts, fix their pitchforks to their necks, and hold them under water till they expire Three other prieſts ſuffered for the ſame cauſe near the ſame village.

About the ſame time, that is, about the fourth of September, the curate of la Baroche, near Alençon, was ſtopped by the populace near Orbec. The municipal officers and national guards endeavoured in vain to ſave his life. He had already received many wounds, and a grenadier, from a motive of faſhionable compaſſion, ſhot him through the heart. The ſpectators, mad with joy, threw their hats up into the air, and carried the martyr's head along the road.

On the ſame day Mr. Nicholas Bené, curate of Lymais-le-Mantes, in the dioceſe of Chartres, returned thither to take a paſſport for tranſportation, and was maſſacred by the ruffians. Mr. Queſnel, a prieſt of the pariſh of Bolbec, is called upon to produce his, near Aliquerville, he takes it out and reaching it to the officer, has two of his fingers cut off with a ſabre.

On the ninth of September Mr. Beſſin, curate of Sommaire à l'Aigle, had been obliged to quit his pariſh for refuſing to take the oath. He returns in obedience to the decree of tranſportation. The mob ſurrounds him; to ſave him the diſtrict orders him to be committed to priſon; the door is forced, and he is cut in pieces. One of his arms they fling into the river, his other members are diſperſed up and down, and the body laid at the foot of the tree of liberty.

At

At Autun, the curate of the little ſeminary of Clermont, is ſtopped by the populace. The mayor thinks he may ſave him. He adviſes him not to take the oath, but to let ſomebody aſſure the mob that he has taken it; "I "would publickly diſavow that perſon," ſays the curate. "I am not allowed to ſave my life by telling a lie. The "God who forbids me to take this oath, will not ſuffer "me to make people believe that I have taken it." The city of Autun ſtood amazed at this example of a faith formed, and unſubdued, to repair the ſcandal of its arch-apoſtate of his opinions and his example in the affair of the oath. The curate became a martyr; the biſhop lives only to exhibit to the world his perjury and his infamy.

Conſpiracy againſt the tranſported prieſts.

Many other prieſts carried their death-warrants in their paſſports. But ſingle unconnected victims could not ſatisfy the rage of the jacobins; they demanded whole hecatombs. They had not collected ſo many victims in every part of the empire to ſuffer them to eſcape into foreign countries. They opened the priſon doors to them; but not till they had taken their precautions; nor till their emiſſaries had been diſpatched into the provinces to agitate the people, and to beſet the roads through which they were to paſs.

On the 19th of September fifty-ſix vicars or curates of the dioceſes of Uzes and Avignon, ſome eighty, ſome ninety years old, ſailed from Aiguemorte in a veſſel belonging to one Peſqui. At eleven at night they are boarded by two other veſſels armed with pikes, ſwords and guns. The two infernal crews aſſault the prieſts; ſearch and ſtrip them, not leaving them an aſſignat, or a ſingle article of raiment; nor do they quit them till they have ſeen them confined in a dark loathſome hold, without

a breath

a breath of air. In the morning the prieſts hear hatchets working on the ſides of the veſſel. Their evening viſitors were labouring to ſink the veſſel. Here the avarice of the owner had luckily for them the effect of pity. Fearing the loſs of his property without a ſuitable indemnity, he prevailed on them to deſiſt.

Cote d'or. Other dangers awaited the fugitives who were obliged to travel through the departments. Such was the reputation of ſome of them, that their very name inſpired terror. The prieſts kept at a diſtance from theſe, as the mariner puts out to ſea to avoid ſtriking on rocks famed for frequent ſhipwrecks. Some of them had been ſo electrified by the report of the Pariſian maſſacre, that nothing but a miracle could have ſaved the life of a prieſt found in their precincts.

Dreux. Thirty-five eccleſiaſtics from Chartres, by the perfidious contrivance of their guides, found themſelves at Dreux. They were received with ferocious ſhouts by the populace. Thus the ſavage hordes of the ancient Crimea hailed the wreck thrown by a ſtorm on their inhoſpitable ſhore. *Here they are*, was the cry, *we have them, they ſhall not eſcape.* Luckily all mayors were not Pethions, nor all municipal officers like Manuel. The mayor of Dreux and the recorder haſten to the ſpot, and are joined by the electors then aſſembled. Determined to prevent the bloody ſcenes which had been exhibited at Paris, they formed themſelves into two lines to cover the prieſts, and to eſcort them on their road. The fall of a heavy rain did not ſtop them; but the populace followed and foamed with rage, and called aloud for their prey. The rain increaſing ſome of them diſband. Their protectors now thinking them ſafe, deſire the guides to quicken the pace of the carriages. The aſſaſſins return,

return, and the ſound of the tocſin brings many more from the neighbouring villages. The drivers dare neither to advance nor retreat; but cry out to the prieſts, Run off, or we ſhall all periſh. The prieſts diſperſe into the woods, behind the buſhes and the vines. Some of them lie concealed for a few hours, but are at length diſcovered, taken, and hurried from one guard-houſe to another. The firmneſs of their conduct, and their invincible patience, makes an impreſſion on their perſecutors, and they are ſuffered to make their eſcape under the darkneſs of the night. The others ſurrounded with bayonets, deafened with the beat of the drums, buffeted, bruiſed, the hair cut or torn from their heads, are carried back to Dreux. Here God watches over them, and delivers them from the attempts of their enemies. The myſterious ways of providence can alone account for their eſcape from unlifted daggers, and the dangers of a long journey through a hoſtile country.

Among this ſeditious rabble it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh men of another claſs, who were buſily employed in exciting and fomenting the ſpirit of hoſtility againſt the clergy, and repeating the groundleſs calumnies which had been ſpread abroad to juſtify the maſſacre of the ſecond of September at Paris. In all theſe popular commotions the apoſtate prieſts were obſerved to take a leading part. If ſome of them were leſs active, or endeavoured to prevent the miſchiefs threatened by the mob, too many envied the honourable conduct of men who under the preſſure of rapine and exile bore teſtimony to their avarice, their cowardice, and their perjury. From the beginning of the perſecution theſe intruders, forgetful of the decency of their character, had been ſeen at the head of an armed populace; the biſhop of Nimes had attended the military evolutions of the Calviniſts; the apoſtates had mounted guard

guard at the gates of St. Firmin dreſſed in an uniform, and ſtood ſentinal in rotation with the ruffians to confine the non-juring clergy. The moment of tranſportation developed ſtill more clearly the real character of the miniſters of the new church.

Port-en Beſſin. Eighty non-juring clergymen had gone from Bayeux to Port-en-Beſſin, with a view to embark for England. Here they thought themſelves ſafe under the protection of the laws, when one de Launes, who after taking the oath was appointed cnrate of Vaucelles, preſented himſelf to them in his military uniform, at the head of ſix fuſilliers. Affecting a patriotic concern for the welfare of his country, and the authority of a commanding officer, he enquired what could have brought ſo many of them to ſo ſmall a place. The prieſts gave him a full account of their deſign which he well knew before. He calls for their paſſports, ſome of which he finds to be illegal, as having been given without a ſufficient reaſon. While he is thus acting the tyrant, the alarm-bell rings, and is anſwered by all the bells in the neighbouring country. The villain had circulated a report that three hundred Engliſh had come to ſet fire to the place. This intelligence ſoon brought together all the peaſants of twenty different villages armed with pikes, and ſcythes, and guns. The apoſtate ranges them in order, appoints ſentinels over the prieſts, and calls a council of war. When it broke up orders were given to charge the cannon and ſink the veſſel which was to tranſport them. Every thing is got ready, when the captain obſerving their motions, thinks it high time to draw off out of the reach of cannon ſhot. The peaſants continue to join the ruffians, and the apoſtate points out the Engliſh. They become frantic with rage, and injuries and threats are poured forth without intermiſſion

miſſion. Their ſabres are whetted, their firelocks loaded, and every thing made ready for a general maſſacre. They wait only for the orders of a ſecond council of war. The ſentinels were inſulted, when commiſſaries deputed by the municipal officers of Bayeux appear. Theſe gentlemen harangue the mob; they put them in mind of the law; but their harangue and the law make no impreſſion. The death of the priſoners ſeems now inevitable. In this extremity one of the magiſtrates begs they will hear him, while he propoſes a meaſure much to their advantage. He wiſely concluded that intereſt would overbalance their patriotiſm. "You ſeem determined," ſays he, "to murder, to "exterminate theſe prieſts; but you do not conſider the "conſequences of ſo raſh an attempt. Their murder "will be followed by calamities of which plunder will be "the leaſt. The moſt deſerving will have the leaſt ſhare "of their property. Spare their lives, but take their "money, and let it be equally divided amongſt you. I can "ſuggeſt a method to make them deliver up all they have. "Tell them that they muſt either give in a fair account, "or die; that their baggage ſhall be ſearched; that no "mercy ſhall be ſhewn to any one who ſhall have con-"cealed any part of his money."

They accepted the propoſal. Every piece of money, every aſſignat is produced, though they have nothing elſe to ſupport life in their exile. The declaration is made, and their portmanteaus ſearched. Their pockets are next ſeparately examined. The apoſtate commander preſided at this rigorous ſearch, in which decency was not always reſpected. Old age or infirmities were not exempted from theſe indignities to which the curate, to whom popular rage had given the name of the prieſt Gorſas, obliged them to ſubmit.

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The whole of the ſpoils amounted to 20,000 livres to be divided among 1,000 robbers. While they were dividing the booty, the priſoners made their eſcape, but could not embark at Port-en-Beſſin. After many difficulties they at laſt reached Berniere.

In this village piety and humanity ſtill flouriſhed. Here the prieſts met with an earneſt of that benevolent compaſſion which they were to experience on the other ſide of the water. The port of Berniere, diſtant a few leagues from Bayeux, was a little England. The inhabitants all took an active part in the relief of the indigents. The rich thought themſelves happy becauſe they could contribute largely, and the poor gave all they could. The tradeſmen opened their houſes, the ſailors made an offer of their boats. The peaſants made up beds in their cottages to refreſh them after their fatigues, and to prepare them for tranſportation. Thoſe who had been robbed or plundered in their perſons or on the road received money, cloaths and linen. The women made ſhirts and ſtockings for thoſe who had loſt thoſe neceſſary articles of dreſs. All carried their property into a common ſtock, and what they could not furniſh themſelves was brought from the neighbouring villages. Frequent collections were made, and every means uſed to excite that ſpirit of beneficence which glowed in their own breaſts. When the time of embarking came they were accompanied to the water ſide, and proviſions put on board for their voyage. When the wind began to fill the ſails, tears flowed abundantly, and the only reward they aſked was that they would give them their bleſſing, and let them know the ſucceſs of their journey. In this little village 1,200 prieſts received every comfort, every attention which in the midſt of an atrocious revolution did honour to French hearts, to ſenſible ſouls, and

and worthy imitators of the moſt humane, the moſt generous of nations.

Other Frenchmen were found at Dieppe, Rouen, and Havre, whoſe ſentiments of humanity, compaſſion and charity, did honour to their country. Another colony of prieſts arrived at Granville from the priſons of Domfront, and met with every demonſtration of benevolence, and every comfort in their diſtreſs. They ſtood in great need of relief; for the jacobins had treated them as if they had deſigned that their priſons ſhould be their graves. A thouſand times threatened with the fatal lamp-poſt, they had experienced all its terrors. They had cut all the bell-ropes, and they amuſed themſelves with faſtening them round the necks of the prieſts by way of experiment. The day of execution is fixed, and the mob only waits for a ſigual from the jacobins. A man of a very different character, M. le Tourneur la Vanniere, prevented the horrid deed, by ſending them off at midnight eſcorted by a brigade of infantry. They met with very different treatment in the different villages through which they paſſed. In ſome the people formed themſelves into a body to releaſe the priſoners, and theſe were obliged to employ all their rhetoric and all their authority to prevent them from murdering the guards. In others, as at Ville-Dieu-les-Poeles, the activity of the mayor and the guards with great difficulty prevented the maſſacre of the prieſts. But it required ſtill more ſtrenuous efforts to ſave them from the effects of a horrid plot. It was not at Rouen they wiſhed to murder that colony. That city had ever given proofs of humanity and obedience to the laws. In other places the jacobin influence prevailed. Domfront.

Public notice is given at Rouen that three ſhips bound to Oſtend are ready to convey the prieſts thither Quillebeuf.

thither. Captain Ducheſne declares that in eight days he will reach that port; that he will call at no other place; that he has proviſions for a fortnight; that he will ſupply the paſſengers at the rate of 150 livres. Two hundred and thirty accept the terms and go on board. On the third of September, juſt as the news of the ſecond at Paris arrived, they ſail. They had not been long at ſea when they perceived that the captain was in no ſuch hurry to reach Oſtend, but ſought unneceſſary delays. He goes to land, and returns late next day in a very ill-humour; complains that he wants proviſions, and that he muſt call at ſeveral places to procure them. They are brought in ſo ſlowly, and ſo many other pretexts are aſſigned for delay, that on the ſeventh they were ſtill of Quillebeuf, at the diſtance of ſeven leagues from the ſea, and cannot proceed till the return of the tide. Three or four thouſand peaſants appear on the coaſt. They had heard of the maſſacre of the Carmes, but the decree of tranſportation had been induſtriouſly concealed from them.

They are ſoon appriſed of the conſummation of the maſſacre of the Carmes, by the vociferous cries and threats of an enraged populace. An army of ferocious ruffians inſiſt on ſearching the veſſel, and ſeizing the arms which they are told are concealed on board her. The magiſtrates and ſome of the officers to appeaſe their fury make the moſt rigorous ſearch; and declare that the travellers have no arms but their breviaries, and that their paſſports are ſtrictly legal. But this does not ſatisfy them, and they ſeize the boats. The prieſts at prayers in the hold expect inſtant death. A venerable old man places himſelf at the entry, and on his brethren undertaking to perſuade him to chuſe a leſs dangerous ſituation, he calmly replies, "No, I am very well here. I have my reaſons "for chuſing this poſt. If one of us muſt die, it is fitting

" fitting that I ſhould be the man. I am too old and too
" infirm to labour for the ſalvation of ſouls, but you may
" ſtill be uſeful.

Thus ſpoke the old man, and the banditti had now got on board. They hold their drawn ſabres in their hands, and threaten to murder every one of theſe poor defenceleſs prieſts. One of them attempts to reaſon with them, and he is ſeized and thrown overboard. He muſt have been drowned if one of the officers had not laid hold of a flap of his coat. Another would have had his head ſplit, if he had not luckily parried the ſabre. The crowd was now ſo great on the deck that the veſſel was in danger of ſinking. At length the magiſtrates and the officers perſuade them to return on ſhore. But they yield only on condition that they ſhall convey theſe prieſts to priſon. They hoiſt ſome of them into the boats, others are obliged to wade, all are puſhed forward by the butt end of their muſkets.

When they got to land, they were ſtowed by twenty and thirty in dark loathſome cells. The reſt of the day and the whole night were ſpent by the banditti in conſultation, how to ſecure their prey in ſpite of the municipal officers. They ſucceed in their application for the detention of the priſoners, till the pleaſure of the national aſſembly can be known. Thus the axe ſtood ſuſpended over their heads for ſeveral days, and next morning arrived another convoy arreſted near Quillebeuf, which doubled their number. The labourers when they went to their work in the morning, took care to chuſe a guard of the moſt determined aſſaſſins, to prevent the priſoners being liberated by the national guards and the municipal officers. It was often debated whether they ſhould not be treated as the prieſts had been at Paris.

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If the law was mentioned to theſe boors, they anſwered that the law had been enacted at Paris, and there executed. At length it was definitively ſettled that they ſhould all be murdered on the following Sunday, when the peaſants would be at liberty to come to the bloody rendezvous.

The magiſtrates of Rouen had received advice of the danger to which theſe prieſts were expoſed; the national guard was eager to fly to their aſſiſtance, but they had no orders. Two commiſſaries from the national aſſembly were then at Rouen, and a committee of jacobins. When the latter ſaw the deputies of Quillebeuf arrive, they aſked them coolly if they did not know what had paſſed at Paris. Albite, the devil's emiſſary, was preaching, Let us have no God, no king, no religion, no prieſts. He refuſed permiſſion to the national guard to march to Quillebeuf. But the public indignation at length prevailed. The guard of Rouen marched with ſome pieces of artillery. The diſpirited aſſaſſins diſappeared on their arrival. Under the protection of this force, the prieſts quitted Quillebeuf on the eve of the intended maſſacre. They were conducted to Rouen, where freſh paſſports were made out for them. But they loſt their money, their effects, and their freight.

One hundred and fourteen eccleſiaſtics on board another veſſel, hearing how their brethren were treated, ſtopped at la Milleraye, where they met with danger, with inſult, and a priſon. Providence watched over them, and they eſcaped unhurt.

Whatever progreſs the jacobins had made in depraving the public mind, it appeared that they had carried their threatened profligacy too far. In a hundred different towns, and on a hundred different occaſions the people,

or

or to ſpeak more properly, the ſcum of the people, had lifted their hatchets or their pikes, and were on the point of committing the foul deed, when the voice of a reputable citizen, a propoſed alternative, an affected delay, or an inviſible hand, prevented the conſummation of the crime. They were puſhed on, their paſſions were inflamed, but they ſtill preſerved in their hearts ſentiments of reſpect, and even admiration, for the miniſters of religion. A breath lighted up the fire in their breaſts, and another breath extinguiſhed it. The jacobin monſters were well inclined to complete the helliſh deſign, but even they ſhrunk from the ignominious office of the executioner. They began to fear that a people, unwilling to imbrue their hands in the blood of their paſtors, might one day turn their arms againſt the aſſaſſins. Their endeavours to ſtir them up to rapine and murder were often unſucceſsful.

The plan of a general maſſacre had been concerted with particular warmth at Laval. The ſix hundred prieſts who had been ſeparately confined in two convents, were brought together in one, a few days before the term fixed for their tranſportation. The twenty-four guards were now reduced to five.

One hundred and fifty ruffians, armed with ſabres and pikes, choſe a day when five of the feebleſt mounted guard to make an aſſault on the priſoners. On this occaſion a ſtrong proof was given of the ſuperiority of true firmneſs and courage, to the ungovernable fury of a mob. The firſt of the five guards was a weak, deformed man, in whom nature had made ſome amends for his bodily defects, by a ſtrong and vigorous mind. On the approach of the mob he preſented his firelock, aſſigned their poſts to the other four, and ordered them to halt. Their threats are diſregarded, and a line is drawn, beyond which if they dare

dare to advance he declares he will fire, and then ruſh upon them with his bayonet. His four comrades approve the reſolution, and the ruffians diſperſe.

They are rallied by the jacobin leaders, and led back to the attack. The garriſon had not been reinforced, and the little crooked general forms his line as he had done before. Again the ruffians make a full ſtand, when he cries out to them, "You ſhall not have acceſs to the "prieſts, but over our dead bodies, and you may depend "upon it, that we will ſend many of your number be-"fore us."

The aſſailants again turn their backs, when news is brought to them that a detachment which they had ſent round were actually ſcaling the walls. The intelligence came too late, and the garriſon having received a reinforcement, they fled with great precipitation. Thus five men ſaved the lives of ſix hundred prieſts, while thouſands of all ranks were butchered at Paris without reſiſtance. The Laveleſe, now thoroughly convinced of the perfidious machinations of the jacobins, took proper meaſures to prevent the exploſion. Unwilling to diſturb the military diſcipline, they would not form themſelves into a body, but took poſt ſeparately near the priſon, to be in readineſs in caſe of alarm during the night, and the priſoners were inſtructed to ring the bell on the firſt appearance of danger.

The jacobins had now recourſe to another meaſure, in order to give their banditti more liberty to act. During the fair, the decree of tranſportation was read to the prieſts, and the priſon gates were thrown open to give them an opportunity to prepare for their departure. But preſently the drums beat to arms, and an order is iſſued to ſtop and bring back the priſoners. The order is poſted up for the deli-

very

very of all the horſes in town for the uſe of the army. Their view was to excite a ſedition, and during the confuſion to murder all the prieſts on their return to priſon. Here again they were diſappointed. The Levaleſe opened their doors to the priſoners, and the people remained quiet. The country people who loſt their horſes only ſaid, "You may take them; we know what you wiſh "us to do; we ſhall make no reſiſtance, and there will "be no ſedition."

Various was the aſpect of things in the different towns of France. The jacobins alone were all and every where the ſame; eagerly bent on the murder of the prieſts before their tranſportation. At Mans they had collected another flock for ſlaughter. Here their charge originated in the moſt atrocious calumny. They forged a letter, and addreſſed it to M. Perdigeon, curate of Courcelles, and one of the prieſts confined in the ſeminary. The letter was ſuppoſed to be written by ſome females, who excuſed themſelves for not having yet followed his advice to poiſon their democratical huſbands. It was received in the electoral aſſembly. The impoſition was too groſs to be ſwallowed. The people had no inclination to murder their paſtors. This haſtened their tranſportation. M. Perdigeon was detained at Mans. He was afterwards brought to his trial and acquitted. The jacobins determined to make themſelves amends for the loſs of their cauſe, by the circumſtances of the tranſportation.

Every thing being now ready, at ſix in the morning the prieſts are permitted to go into the town to prepare for their quitting the kingdom; but they are told that they muſt all return to the priſon gates at four next morning, and 146 are there at the appointed hour. Two files of muſketeers form to the right and left. One piece of cannon goes before, and another follows them, charged with grape-ſhot and lighted matches. They were three

whole days in going to la Fleche and Angers, and during theſe three days they are perſecuted with hiſſes, and groans, and threats, and the groſſeſt inſults. No lodgings, no nouriſhment is beſpoke on the road. The charity of pious chriſtians, and eſpecially of the Nuns of the Viſitation and the Ave ſtrive to relieve their wants. The greateſt part of the proviſions ſent for their uſe are devoured by the hungry guards, and all this is but a prelude to what they are to undergo when the guards of Mans are relieved.

When they arrived at Angers one would have thought that all the banditti of the neighbourhood had been invited to inſult and threaten the priſoners. To encreaſe their humiliation and terror, they are led through the principal ſtreets. At length they reach the fortreſs, and are ſhut up in the chapel. A naked altar, broken ſtatues, torn pictures, hearts and bones of the dead, croſſed ſwords, inſcriptions either injurious to the clergy or threatening death; ſuch is the ſpectacle that is to comfort them after the fatigue of their journey. The jailor brings them ſome brown bread and water, and ſhuts the door upon them. Two hours after it is again opened, and a band of ruffians enter to take their names and their numbers, and to ſelect the moſt diſtinguiſhed victims. A troop of jacobins follow to excite complaints and murmurs, which they may turn to ſome advantage. A modeſt and profound ſilence diſappoints their malice.

The next day arrived the aged and the infirm, who had not been able to keep pace with the reſt, and they were ſhut up in the ſame priſon. The phyſicians were alarmed here, as they had been at Paris, with the apprehenſion of a contagious diſorder, and obtained permiſſion for them to breathe the freſh air in the courts. The ladies were fearful that they would die of hunger, and provided for all their wants. They had paſſed eight days in

this fortreſs, when on the ninth of September they were informed of the maſſacre of their brethren at Paris. M. Bachelier, in communicating this news, added, that to prevent a ſimilar atrocity, he was making preparations for their ſpeedy tranſportation. The queſtion had been agitated during ſix hours in the jacobin club of Angers, and at length the motion for a maſſacre had been carried. It was to take place during the night between Saturday and Sunday. During this interval intelligence was received of the honourable capitulation granted to the battalion of Angers at Verdun. This inſtance of humanity made a deep impreſſion on the inhabitants, and prevented the ſavage deſign of the jacobins. One alone fell a victim to the rigors of confinement. This was M. Courveceille, a canon of Sille, who expired on the eve of their departure. To prepare them for it a rigorous ſearch was made for their money, and their ſilver buckles. They left each man forty-eight livres, after robbing them of forty thouſand.

On the 12th, in the morning, the priſoners are tied two and two, and let out into the court, where they are received by a freſh battalion formed into two lines, which incloſed them. The order is then given for loading their firelocks with ball. The artillery forms the van and the rere of the column; the prieſts are commanded to obſerve the ſtricteſt ſilence, and the battalion to fire upon all ſtragglers. In this order they march through the town. Carts are waiting for them at the gates, and they are thrown into them without the leaſt regard to their uſe or convenience. Here they continued two whole hours, without any reaſon being aſſigned for the delay, when they ſaw 300 of their brethren brought from the priſon of the ſeminary ſearched as they had been. Orders are now given to march, and they take the route of Nantes.

On the road they met ſeveral detachments of federates who were on their march to the frontiers. Eager to ſignalize their martial proweſs, theſe fiery patriots aimed many a blow at the diſarmed priſoners with their ſabres, in defiance of the numerous guards with which they were ſurrounded. At length they are lodged in barns or decayed churches. Bread, which is not eaſily procured, is their only food. If any thing better is furniſhed by charity, it becomes a prey to the ſoldiery.

At Anceny they are lodged in the church of the Cordeliers, where the jacobin club lately met, and where now the prieſts are impriſoned. At midnight a jacobin, at the head of forty men, mounts the roſtrum and orders them to load their firelocks. Another gets into the pulpit, and a conference commences between the two members of the club, in which oaths, imprecations, blaſphemy and ribaldry, are poured forth in rapid ſucceſſion. The priſoners wait with patient ſilence for the order to fire; but the conference is protracted till four in the morning.

On the 14th they arrive at Nantes, where a more civilized people looſe their bonds, and adminiſter comfort to their ſufferings. They are here again lodged in a fortreſs, but humanity provides for all their wants. Every thing that can alleviate their preſent diſtreſs, or facilitate their tranſportation, is abundantly ſupplied.

The prieſts who had not been confined, but travelled through France, were expoſed to great danger. Many, unable to obtain a paſſport, wandered long on the frontier; in the day concealed in foreſts and hollow rocks, at night traverſing unfrequented paths, ſometimes alone, at others following guides whoſe fidelity might be tempted. If they were diſcovered on the borders they were eagerly purſued, and if overtaken inhumanly murdered.

Thus

Thus would have periſhed M. de Barral, biſhop of Troye, if the path which his guide had choſen had been acceſſible. He was taking his firſt repaſt on the territory of Savoy, when he was thus accoſted by ſome ladies: "What, "my Lord, is it you! we were ſtopped by ſome guards "about two hours ago, who enquired if we had obſerved "two men on the ſlope of the mountain whom they "were in purſuit of. From the deſcription they gave "of them, they muſt have been you and your guide."

M. de Balore, biſhop of Nimes, had run ſuch riſks, that the adminiſtrators of Paris concluded he could not poſſibly be alive. A perſon appeared before theſe adminiſtrators, and proved that M. Balore had obeyed the decree of tranſportation in all its points; that therefore he claimed the ſum of 30,000 livres, which had been ſeized before any law had confiſcated his property. He is anſwered, that if M. Balore has quitted the kingdom, it muſt have been before the 10th of Auguſt. That he is an emigrant, and not a tranſported prieſt. A certificate properly atteſted, demonſtrates that M. Balore was at Troye after the 26th of Auguſt. "That is impoſſible, "replied the magiſtrates. Either the biſhop emigrated "before the 10th of Auguſt, or he is dead; for his name "was on the liſt."

This was all he got for his 30,000 livres. This circumſtance will corroborate the many proofs adduced, that the prieſts were maſſacred in conſequence of a ſettled plan.

The names of many other biſhops were on this ſame liſt. Of one hundred and thirty-eight, four had conformed. Providence ſeemed willing to expiate their apoſtaſy by the martyrdom of four others. The reſt were preſerved from the plots and wicked contrivances of the jacobins. Baniſhed from

from their country, they directed by their councils, they ſtrengthened by their example the numerous columns of prieſts diſperſed over Europe.

Moſt of thoſe prieſts had reached their deſtination in want of every thing, covered with the tattered garments, with which they had been obliged to replace their religious habits. The decrees did not yet take from them the hope of receiving ſome relief from their own country, either by remittances from their eſtates, or from the treaſury, on which their ſcanty penſions were ſettled, when the property of the church was confiſcated. This hope was to be of ſhort duration. Impiety and inhumanity wreſted from them this laſt reſource. The God whom they ſerved furniſhed other means.

The firſt victims of the perſecution retired to Rome. Before the opening of the ſecond aſſembly, which aſſumed the title of national, ſeveral paſtors of all the different ranks, had been obliged to take refuge in this capital of the chriſtian world. Men, who had been driven from their native land for the confeſſion of the faith, could not but be welcome to Pius VI. Under God, whoſe repreſentative he was, their firmneſs was his work. He had inſtructed them by his briefs, he had laid before them the doctrine of the written word, and the authority of tradition, his wiſdom had marked out the line of conduct they were to purſue, amidſt the ſnares of hereſy, ſophiſtry and hypocriſy. They had conſulted him as an oracle, and they found him a father. He received them as ſo many unfortunate children, whoſe poverty and diſtreſs did honor to them, to him, and to God. He commended their fortitude, he honored them with tears of admiration and tenderneſs, and his treaſures accompanied he expanſion of his heart.

Before

Before the decree of tranſportation had paſſed, above two hundred French eccleſiaſtics were maintained at Rome, by the liberality and under the protection of the Pope. It was no ſooner carried into execution, than two thouſand more took ſhelter in his dominions; the conqueſt of Savoy and Nice added conſiderably to the number. On this occaſion, the charity of the holy father knew no other bounds than thoſe of his revenue. The common father of the faithful ſhared his inheritance with this numerous family of paſtors. He invited the biſhops to rally round the apoſtolical ſee, round the mother church, whoſe rights they had ſo valiantly defended. There were no leſs than four and twenty then at Rome. It was the college of the apoſtles round Peter, whoſe crown they were. The number of other French eccleſiaſtics increaſed every day; one city could not contain them all. His Holineſs diſtributed them into the different parts of his dominions, and immenſe ſums were expended on their account. Rivalling the glory of the moſt generous of nations, he ordered forty-eight livres to be paid to each of theſe prieſts, numerous as they were, every month.

To theſe proofs of generoſity the holy father added the example of the moſt edifying piety. The theatres were all ſhut; orders were given for public prayers, retreats, and exhortations to repentance, in order to prevail on the Lord to turn away the ſcourges, which in his wrath he was pouring forth on the kingdom of France, to obtain the reſtoration of religion and law, and to avert the unhappy fate which ſeemed to await Louis XVI. his queen, and his royal family. The regular attendance of the Pope on theſe religious exerciſes, was a powerful recommendation of them to the practice of the faithful. Rome became the city of ſaints. The Romans were now practiſing what would better have become the inhabitants of Paris. After the example of the Ninivites, they put on ſackcloth

ſack-cloth and aſhes; but the cup of the wrath of God muſt be emptied to the drugs.

By the biſhops and clergy of other kingdoms.

The active charity of the Pope was not confined to his own dominions. From the chair of St. Peter he took an accurate ſurvey of the ſurrounding nations, into which tranſportation had conveyed many of theſe exiles. He wrote to ſeveral biſhops, ſtrongly recommending ſuch of the French prieſts as ſhould ſeek refuge in their dioceſes. But the churches bordering on France had not waited for his Holineſs's exhortations. The biſhops of Italy, Savoy, the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and the Auſtrian Netherlands, the chapters, the religious houſes, the curates, had dedicated large ſums to the relief and comfort of their exiled brethren. Hiſtory will one day give a detail of theſe generous deeds, and poſterity will learn with aſtoniſhment what was done by the biſhops of Nice, Chamberry, Malines and others, a liſt of whoſe names would equal the number of all the places which ſurround the frontiers of France. It will record with particular pleaſure the heroic charity of the Cardinal de Guemené, who employed the revenues ariſing from his poſſeſſions on the other ſide of the Rhine, in the relief of the curates and vicars of his dioceſe. His houſe became a large ſeminary, where there was but one table, where the ſtricteſt œconomy enabled him to multiply the number of his gueſts, where the earthly prince was ſunk into the humble prieſt of Jeſus Chriſt, the brother, the companion of the poor. The princely munificence of the Spaniſh biſhops would appear quite incredible, if it had not been recorded by the French prieſts themſelves, in letters which lie before me, and of which I ſhall give a ſhort extract.

" We ſhall be eternally indebted to the Spaniards, but " eſpecially to the biſhops. None but thoſe who have " experienced it, can conceive the extent of their benefi-

" cence

" cence towards the French eccleſiaſtics. The arch-
" biſhop of Valentia has taken near two hundred into his
" palace, where they are handſomely entertained. They
" thought it their duty to expreſs their gratitude, and they
" were anſwered by theſe words of St. Paul, *Oportet*
" *epiſcopum eſſe hoſpitalem*, which he ordered to be written
" over all the doors of his palace. *It behoves a biſhop to be*
" *hoſpitable.* The biſhop of Siguenca has a hundred in
" his palace, and a great many more in his dioceſe, and
" they are all maintained at his expence. At Oſma a
" great many are penſioned by the biſhops, From Cor-
" dova and other places, we receive letters requeſting us
" to ſend ſome of our exiled brethren thither. The
" biſhop of Orence deſires to have two hundred. The
" chapter of Zamora has engaged to entertain fifty as long
" as the perſecution laſts. The chapter of Leon has
" cloathed a hundred, and pays for every thing they have.
" Mr. de Calahora, on whom Bilboa depends, is not
" rich; but he has cloathed many of the moſt indigent.
" He declares he would ſell even his ſilver croſs and his
" paſtoral ring, to ſupport the diſtreſſed French clergy.
" The biſhop of Pampelune could not do what he has
" done, and continues to do for them, if he did not re-
" ceive large remittances from other Spaniſh biſhops.
" The munificence of the Cardinal Toledo is propor-
" tioned to his vaſt revenues. He provides for five
" hundred."

The reception of the prieſts by the laity.

While the clergy of theſe different countries was thus providing for the wants of the French exiles, the charity of the laity was not inactive. Wherever they came, every office of humanity met them, and catholics could not plead excluſive right to their gratitude. In cities where both religions were equally tolerated, and even where proteſtantiſm was

eſtabliſhed by law, ſenſibility and generoſity provided for their wants.

In the Auſtrian low countries.

In ſpite of the jacobins, humanity ſtill dwelt on the earth. They exerted all their endeavours to extinguiſh its ſentiments, eſpecially towards men, whom they either murdered, or reluctantly ſuffered to fly. And though in Brabant, and all the provinces of the Auſtrian Netherlands, they had made many partiſans, yet ſubſcriptions were opened there, for the relief of the French clergy. Cloathing and linen were ſupplied from the warehouſes, and women of faſhion were not aſhamed to preſent them the work of their own hands. The laity took the moſt indigent into their houſes, or procured them ſome honeſt employment. The prieſts were particularly pleaſed with this ſpecies of charity. The boon is doubled when the object is put into a method of deſerving it.

In Switzerland.

To the eaſt of the French dominions lies a country, the inhabitants of which are diſtinguiſhed by their ancient ſimplicity of manners and a generous hoſpitality. The jacobins had employed all the arts of calumny to indiſpoſe this people, and eſpecially the peaſantry, againſt the tranſported clergy: but their natural good ſenſe ſoon convinced them, that the ambitious man never ſacrifices his intereſt to his conſcience, that the revengeful man does not tamely ſubmit to ill treatment, or ſuffer outrages, rapine, and maſſacre, with patience and reſignation. The Swiſs could not offer the reſources of an opulent nation; few of them were rich; but they were benevolent. The prieſts were invited into their ruſtic manſions, and became members of the family. Like the ancient patriarchs this good people went into the high roads to meet the emigrant prieſts, to invite them to lodge, to waſh their feet, and to refreſh themſelves in their houſes. In many

of

of the cantons there was not a cottage without a prieſt They gave him a coarſe bed like their own, he ſat at the ſame table, eat of the ſame butter, cheeſe, and brown bread, and the peaſant was happy to eat it in the company of the afflicted. In the canton of Fribourg alone they reckoned four thouſand prieſts, and in that of Valais ſix hundred all lodged and fed in the ſame manner I have deſcribed.

At Geneva, formerly the ſcourge of the prieſthood, humanity, beneficence, and generoſity were diſplayed to great advantage. One would have ſaid that the Genevians were emulous to repair the wrongs of their anceſtors, and of their brethren of Niſmes. We are informed that the miniſters of this church, having themſelves declared that the French clergy could not take in conſcience the conſtitutional oath, the republic openly protected the tranſported prieſts, and, on the approach of the revolutionary armies, ſeemed more alarmed for their ſafety than for their own. They ſaw that they would ſoon be hemmed in between France where they would be murdered, and Savoy, into which the executioners had now penetrated. They were unwilling that their walls, when ſcaled by the jacobins, ſhould be ſtained with their blood. There were ſix hundred in the city, and to ſecure them from danger a fleet was equipped, and eſcorted by gallies to the other ſide of the lake, where no enemy could moleſt them. At Geneva.

In Germany the peaſants ſhewed the ſame hoſpitable diſpoſition with the Swiſs; their manners were congenial, and their benevolence the ſame. When the hot headed hero of Jamappe had taken poſſeſſion of towns which he could not keep, of Antwerp, Mons, Louvain and Bruxelles; when the exiled prieſts found it neceſſary to fall back upon Maeſtricht, Bergenopzoom, and In Germany and in Holland.

and other towns of the united provinces, they met with a generous protection and relief. When like the rapid impetuous river which divides, loſes itſelf and diſappears in the banks of the Zuiderzee, when the victorious traitor to both parties, burying his triumphs in the bogs of Williamſtadt, diſgracefully retired, when the whole of the Auſtrian Netherlands returned to their allegiance to the lawful government, it was eaſy to judge of the generoſity of theſe provinces, by the eagerneſs of the prieſts to return to the protection of that government.

In England. To the weſt of the provinces of Britany and Normandy, divided by the ſea, lies a nation once the rival, but now the indignant ſpectator of the madneſs and the atrocities of the French revolutioniſts. There amidſt a people, induſtrious, ſedate, thoughtful in the hurry of commerce; a people without pride, and without luxury in the line of great affluence, active, calm, ſerene, and collected; there while ſound policy decides the deſtiny of foreign nations, humanity preſides at home, and eſtabliſhes her throne in every heart. There the French clergy flying from a land, diſturbed by faction during four whole years, devoured by tigers, ſtained with the blood of the miniſters of religion, began to breathe, and to bleſs the God, who had pointed out ſo deſirable a reſting place. As they ſtood on the deck they beheld with admiration the crowds that flocked to the ſhore. During four long years they had ſeen nothing in the human countenance but the pale emblem of fear, the ſuſpicion of treachery, the melancholy ſymptoms of caution and diſtruſt, or all the tokens of ferocious hatred, hoſtility, and revenge. In England they found men peaceable, unſuſpecting and ſecure; and aſtoniſhed at the ſight, they ſaid to one another; "They are quiet, they betray "no ſymptoms of fear; they neither frighten, nor are "frightened. There is then on earth a place where peace

and

" and ſecurity ſtill dwell; where man, free from ſuſ-
" picion and diſtruſt, ſees in every other man a brother."

One muſt have ſpent four years in France, amidſt the Conſtitutionaliſts, the Girondins, the Maratiſts, and the Jabobins of every deſcription, to conceive the delightful ſenſation experienced by theſe prieſts on their firſt landing in England. Tranſported from the regions of terror and diſmay, into the land of peace and harmony, they ſeemed to begin a new life. The ſoul ſeemed to awaken from a terrifying dream of fiends and monſters, into a ſcene of perfect eaſe and liberty. I know, by my own experience, and by that of my fellow exiles, that it is impoſſible to expreſs the exquiſite ſenſations of a man, firſt tranſlated from the regions of revolutional tumult and horror, into the peaceful abode of perſonal ſecurity under a legal government. This was a new ſpectacle to men long habituated to the din of war and the tumult of arms. We beheld it with aſtoniſhment, and our hearts enjoyed it with delight. We admired, we bleſſed it in every town and every village we paſſed. We could not help obſerving to one another; how pleaſing is this ſerenity; Here we are not ſtunned with the ferocious ſound of *ça ira*, nor the brutal carmaniole, nor the noiſe of drums calling to arms, either ſeditious ſectioniſts, or nationals, or federates, or patriots always prepared for murder. We meet not here with rows of ſtrewed bayonets, upliftet pikes, drawn ſabres, and all the terrible inſtruments of death. Here we ſee a few ſoldiers ſcattered up and down without arms. Theſe are perfectly unneceſſary. The foaming ocean keeps the foreign enemy at a diſtance, at home peace and tranquillity are ſecured by law; Engliſhmen need no other protection.

At another time we ſaid, See how they look at us! How unfeigned is the intereſt they take in our concerns! They

They ſeem to ſay, What you muſt have ſuffered! Come, come to land: you have nothing to fear here. We do not cut throats here. Virtue in diſtreſs is always welcome to us. We comfort the afflicted, and relieve the indigent. Such was the language of their countenance, though they could not expreſs it in words. When no interpreter could be found, their geſtures, their tears ſpoke for them. We mingled ours with theirs, and we bleſſed the God who had preſerved them from our ſufferings.

Every veſſel that arrived with a cargo of theſe exiles, ſeemed to have been foreſeen by the Engliſh through an inſtinct of benevolence. They flocked to the landing place to offer us a lodging or refreſhments. Fifty, a hundred of us arrived at a time. They ſeemed more concerned for us than we were for ourſelves. Where lodgings could not be had, a ſpacious room was prepared for the reception of thoſe who were leaſt able to provide for themſelves. There they were nouriſhed, viſited, and queſtioned about their wants. Carriages were hired for them, and frequently on the road a gentleman, a lady, a tradeſman, paid their expences at the inn, and ſometimes defrayed the whole of their journey to London. They were ſtopt at the country ſeats of the nobility to allow them ſome reſt, and money was put into their hands or their pockets. Such as ſtood not in need of it were told that it might be of uſe to their brethren. A hundred different prieſts have deſired me to name their benefactors; but I write of the general benevolence of the whole nation. A liſt of benefactions would equal the hiſtory of our misfortunes. It would be a pleaſing taſk, but it would not be an eaſy one, to give an adequate idea of the important ſervices rendered by Lord and Lady George Cavendiſh to a number of theſe prieſts, whom they received on their landing, whom they entertained under their roof, and

whoſe

whoſe expences they defrayed during the reſt of their journey.

This temporary relief did not ſatisfy the generoſity of the Engliſh nation. Proviſion was made for its abundance and duration by ſubſcriptions which beneficence ſeems to have naturalized in England.

Before the general tranſportation, ſeveral prieſts had arrived at London and at Rome, driven by the firſt burſts of the ſtorm. They were known only to a few catholics, to whom they thought they might apply with confidence. Their firſt benefactors, as being firſt acquainted with them, were Mr. Meynell, a reſpectable clergyman, and Mrs. Silburn. The pious hoſteſs of Sunan was bleſſed by the prophet Elizeus; at the name of Mrs. Silburn all the French prieſts lift up their hands to Heaven, and implore its bleſſings on her who firſt became their mother and protectreſs. She was alſo the hoſteſs of the prophet whom God ſent before them to prepare the ways of his providence over a numerous colony in the midſt of the moſt generous of nations. The friends of Mr. Meynell and Mrs. Silburn had contributed 400 guineas for the ſupport of thoſe who had arrived firſt at London. The attention, the care of M. La-Marche, biſhop of St. Pol de Leon, gave him a particular title to their reſpect. His lordſhip received the firſt intelligence of the decree whilſt at Wardour; the royal family were to viſit Lulworth Caſtle, and the biſhop was to have the honour of being preſented. He ſacrifices the ſplendour of a court to more important duty, and haſtens to London to meet his perſecuted clergy. In France and on the road they had heard of the high eſteem in which the biſhop of St. Pol was held in England. His houſe, that is to ſay Mrs. Silburn's, ſoon becomes the general rendezvous. The trumpet of beneficence has already ſounded in London; Mr. Burke has

has ſpoken, and a ſubſcription is opened. The Engliſh clergy, the peers, the commoners, have all contributed to lodge, to feed, to clothe theſe unfortunate coloniſts.

Mr. Wilmot had already opened a committee conſiſting of ſixty members. Every thing is foreſeen, and buſineſs is tranſacted with the greateſt order. During ſome months the tranſported prieſts arrive ſucceſſively and without interruption. The active charity of Mrs. Silburn is employed in their reception. Her hoſpitable table was open to all, but eſpecially to thoſe venerable old men who were exhauſted with hunger and fatigue. Her houſe is become a magazine of clothes and linen ſent in by benefactors, and ſhe exchanges them for the rags which cover many of thoſe confeſſors. She does not underſtand their language, but they all underſtand hers; it is the language of charity ſpeaking ſentiments, and activity. Meanwhile the prelate receives, embraces theſe men, provides them with lodgings, enquires into their particular wants, orders and directs the diſtribution of alms. He gives up his attention, his time, his care to their relief. The committee meets, and enters into a detail, not of what has been done, but of what ſtill remains to be done for the relief of all the ſufferers. A regular account is taken of the clergy in London, in the country, at Guernſey and Jerſey, and the whole kingdom applauds their proceedings. The ſubſcription fails, but is immediately renewed; the King and the government encourage it by a noble munificence. The King's Houſe at Wincheſter is no longer neglected. Other ſovereigns had made it a magnificent palace for royal reſidence; George III. thought he applied it to a better uſe when he aſſigned it for the reception of ſix hundred indigent prieſts. The archbiſhop of Canterbury made an offer of his palace to the French biſhops, and many other prelates of the church of England, and a great majority of the clergy ſeemed to forget the difference of religious opinion,

opinion, and to conſider this legion of foreign prieſts as ſo many brethren. The pulpits reſounded with eloquent and pathetic diſcourſes recommending to the hearers thoſe ſentiments of generoſity, admiration, and reſpect which filled the breaſts of the preachers. They enforced the ſame arguments, and adduced the ſame motives as they would have done in the caſe of their own flocks. The ſoul of Fenelon ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of them, and they ſeemed ambitious to repay in the perſons of theſe emigrants a debt which they had contracted by his generoſity to the Engliſh officers during a former war.

The two univerſities, the doctors, the profeſſors, rival the zeal of the paſtors. Oxford by repeated donations challenged the reſources of a Plato and the heart of a Socrates. The phyſicians attend the ſick with a care and concern which do honour to their diſintereſted practice. The powerful and the rich think it a duty to ſhare their affluence with theſe newly imported gueſts. The poor freely beſtow what they have. On one occaſion the generous ſempſtreſs offers the work of her hands, but will not be paid; on another it is a green-grocer who bitterly laments that ſhe ſees no more of theſe good prieſts, becauſe ſhe would not take their money; again it is a milkman who ſlides a piece of money into one of their hands, the price of his day's labour, and mixes with the crowd for fear of being known.

The ſchool boy is proud to be thought an Engliſhman. What is allowed him for his pocket-money and his private expences is carried into a common ſtock. This is the donation of innocence. He knows not what misfortune is, but he is told that theſe men have loſt their all, and he gives them all he has. The journeyman has only his hands, but he will give ſomething, and doubles his taſk. A tender hearted man of this claſs happened to be at Mrs. Silburn's, when ſome

of

of the French prieſts arrived with every appearance of poverty and diſtreſs; he was moved with compaſſion, and wept aloud. Then expreſſing his grief he ſaid, "Ah, "madam, I am a poor man, but my work will maintain "two perſons; give me one of theſe prieſts and I will "provide for him." Happy is that country which produces ſuch men! She has richly deſerved to be called a ſecond providence to theſe poor emigrants, and is happily expreſſed in the biſhop of St. Pol's letter to them, when drawing their attention to God and his goſpel he tells them, "God has committed to you the care of juſtifying "his divine word in regard of your benefactors. By "them he may ſay to you as he did to his apoſtles: When "I ſent you without a ſtaff and barefooted in the midſt "of nations, did you want any thing? By them he ſays "to you, Be not ſolicitous in enquiring who ſhall clothe "or who ſhall feed you." Which of you can reproach him with a breach of his promiſe in a country that has received you?

There were at one time eight thouſand French prieſts in England, and not one was unprovided with the neceſſaries of life. They were allowed two guineas a month per head. From the month of September, 1792, to the firſt of Auguſt, 1793, the ſubſcription amounted to thirty-two thouſand pounds ſterling. The expenditure at that epoch had ariſen to forty-ſeven thouſand pounds. At this time fifteen hundred French prieſts at London, about five hundred diſperſed in the country, two thouſand two hundred in Jerſey, and ſix hundred in the King's Houſe at Wincheſter, in all four thouſand eight hundred and eight, cloathed, lodged and maintained, had no other reſource than the generoſity of the Engliſh nation, and their number was daily increaſing. Some among them had been able to aſſiſt their brethren, but having no longer any

any remittance were obliged to have recourſe to the ſubſcription.

To this general ſum may be added twelve thouſand pounds ſterling, ariſing from particular benefactions, and not entered in the books of the committee. In this calculation we do not include another ſpecies of expenſe incurred by individuals, ſuch as Lord Arundel, and other noblemen, and gentlemen of fortune, who provided for a certain number of theſe eccleſiaſtics in their own houſes.

Another ſubſcription was opened in London in favour of the lay emigrants. The ſums ſubſcribed were leſs ample, either becauſe it was hard to aſcertain their wants, or becauſe their claim was leſs clear, and in ſome appeared at leaſt equivocal. Hiſtory will one day juſtify the cauſe of the true royaliſts. At preſent I will only obſerve, that thoſe who blame them for not remaining in France to ſerve the throne are little acquainted with the nature of the French revolution, or the means by which it was originally conducted. The conſpirators had artfully concealed their deſigns. On a ſignal given for the 14th of July by the leaders at Paris, all the provincial conventicles ſtarted into light. In an inſtant three hundred thouſand men appeared in arms. The army was already corrupted, and the officers diſmiſſed. The jacobin emiſſaries ſcattered over the face of the kingdom, and inſtructed in the part they were to act, kept a watchful eye over every man of birth or property. If three or four of theſe happened to meet, they were immediately ſurrounded by an armed force, and either ſecured or maſſacred. Theſe ferocious patriots were every where, and made the moſt rigorous ſearch through towns and caſtles. They ſoon took poſſeſſion of all the fire-arms, and artillery, and arſenals in the kingdom. The genius of a Beyard, or a la Gueſclin, could not have ſaved their country. The royaliſts had nothing but death

to

to expect, unleſs they could bring themſelves to act the infamous part of a Demenoux. A few may have ſucceſsfully concealed themſelves with Gaſton, but a greater number would have excited ſuſpicion. The king's friends naturally looked to Coblentz the moment the princes had erected their ſtandard there. But other difficulties and other dangers awaited them. When it ſhall be known with what perſeverance they endured theſe difficulties and braved theſe dangers during the Duke of Brunſwick's campaign, when the intrigues of courts and the policy of cabinets ſhall be laid before the public, when a fair account ſhall be given of all the obſtacles thrown in the way of the French nobility, little room will be left to doubt their honor and courage.

To ſpeak impartially, there certainly was among theſe emigrants, eſpecially among the younger ſort, a ſet of men whom neither reflection had matured, nor religion perſuaded, nor morality ſoftened into that ſerious deportment, that moral rectitude, that unſhaken probity which will always be preferred to martial proweſs. Natural levity and the falſe maxims of modern philoſophy were not to be cured by a ſudden reverſe of fortune. But the ſame impartiality which has drawn from me this confeſſion obliges me to add, that among theſe noblemen and their attendants there were men whoſe regular conduct, whoſe ſyſtem of honour, and whoſe ſpirit of moderation recommended them ſtrongly to public eſteem. The imprudence, the follies of the former hurt the intereſts of all the reſt; ſuch is the natural courſe of things. The gratitude of the French clergy towards their benefactors did not prevent their ſeeing with regret a number of theſe emigrants, their countrymen and their brethren, leſs favoured than they would have been, had the nature of their cauſe been better underſtood, or their perſonal worth more juſtly rated.

To

To this circumſtance of a leſs fortunate brother their hearts were not inſenſible: in every other reſpect each revolving day furniſhed them with freſh motives to bleſs that providence which had conducted them to England. But their happineſs would have been incomplete if they had found no temples open to the effuſions of their gratitude. Providence and the Engliſh nation gratified their every wiſh.

While the French revolutioniſts were filling the page of the new conſtitution with the lofty names of toleration and liberty, they had carried their tyranny to the foot of the altar. The Catholic worſhip was baniſhed from the empire of which the Catholic was the eſtabliſhed religion, and they had either murdered or tranſported every Catholic prieſt. In England where two years before, their religion amidſt an infinite variety of ſects, had alone groaned under oppreſſion; in England theſe tranſported prieſts found a real toleration, and many chapels open to their piety. A conſiderable number of the natives, through a ſeries of ſtorms and revolutions, have preſerved in its purity and its fervor the Catholic apoſtolical religion, ſuch as it was before the turbulent reign of Henry VIII. It was the majeſtic but inſulated rock which the aſtoniſhed mariner beholds in the middle of the ſea. It was formerly the pride of a large iſland; it has been aſſailed by many a ſtorm; the daſhing waves have waſhed away the ſurrounding ſoil; the fields and the foreſts have ſunk into the ocean, ſtill it ſubſiſts, ſtill it raiſes its head above the waters, and recalls to our recollection the wars of the giants, the convulſions and the exploſions over which it has triumphed.

On this occaſion the Engliſh nation, unmindful of the difference of religious worſhip, laid aſide its inveterate prejudices. They were all brethren, all under the protection

tection of the law, without envy and without contention; they left every man at liberty to follow the dictates of his conſcience. The hierarchy of the church of England was compoſed of biſhops and miniſters, and among theſe the tranſported prieſts met with many a generous benefactor; but not with a ſingle perſecutor or officious opponent. The benevolence, like the faith, of the Roman Catholics, conſidered them as brethren, and as ſuch they were received. On entering into their temples they found a congregation, the decency of whoſe deportment and whoſe recollected air beſpoke them to be choſen ſouls, the favourite children of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe piety added a luſtre to their conſtancy. A zealous and edifying clergy cultivated this precious portion of the vineyard. Four biſhops, under the title of apoſtolical vicars, diſperſed into different parts of the Britiſh empire, governed by their virtues and their examples more effectually than by their authority. The biſhops and the clergy received the exiles with fraternal affection. Their firſt care was to facilitate the celebration of the holy myſteries, to prevent any inconvenience which inexperience might occaſion. Mr. Douglas, a prelate diſtinguiſhed by his piety, his moderation and prudence, reſiding in London, received them with goodneſs, he adviſed them with friendſhip, and edified them by his virtues. Several benefactions paſſed through his hands.

Thus providence afforded to the French prieſts in England all the comforts which can be derived from humanity and the practice of their religion; and they were ſenſible of the whole extent of their obligations. Their grateful acknowledgements were communicated to the public by the biſhop of St. Pol, in a letter which was read with great ſenſibility by the whole nation. It breathed the ſpirit of piety and candour which diſtinguiſh the character of that worthy prelate. If the expreſſions did not

not come up to his feelings on the occaſion, we muſt remember that there are ſentiments of which no language can convey the extent and energy, as there are benefits which no calculation can reach. Such was the ſituation of the French clergy in England.

But to God they owed a ſtill higher duty. To renew their fervour in this ſtate of exile, they had recourſe to the exerciſes of a ſpiritual retreat. England then ſaw, for the firſt time ſince the reformation, a numerous body of Catholic prieſts reſort every morning and evening during eight days to the exerciſes of piety, to holy meditations, and to the diſcourſes of Mr. Beaurgard, one of their moſt diſtinguiſhed preachers. In theſe retreats, renewed three times in London, their hearts were purified by the ſpirit of penance, and they felt in themſelves the livelieſt ſentiments of gratitude to God and the Engliſh nation. Under the impreſſion of theſe ſentiments they often broke out into ſpiritual canticles, expreſſive of their gratitude to God, to the king, and to the nation, who have held out to them the moſt generous hoſpitality, benevolence and protection. The retreat was concluded by an edifying ſpectacle, of which the annals of the church contain few examples. Twelve hundred prieſts aſſembled on that day in the church approached the holy table, and uninterruptedly received the communion from the hands of the vicar apoſtolic.

While the French jacobins were perſecuting, murdering, or baniſhing all the miniſters of a religion which they pretended to have left whole and entire, eight thouſand Catholic prieſts were openly protected by England; and on the 18th of October arrived at Brighthelmſtone thirty French Benedictine nuns from Montargis. Faithful to their God, to their vows, they had ſet at defiance the projects of the legiſlature, the threats of the jacobins, the

the deluſive arts of the apoſtates, and the dangers of a long journey. At their head was their ſuperior, Madam Levis de Merepoix. In the ordinary courſe of human events prudence might have ſuggeſted, that they were not to expect that every idea ſhould be obliterated, every prejudice removed, which forbade them to live in England as they had lived in their convent during the brighteſt days of religion in France. England proved that virtue and piety oppreſſed will ever have a claim on her benevolence. The Prince of Wales was at Brighton when theſe fugitive virgins arrived. His Royal Highneſs's clemency and bounty were the firſt pledge of the protection they were to meet with in their retreat. Engliſhmen admired their courage and reſolution. They were every where treated with that regard which reſpect inſpires; they every where met with the moſt generous ſupport. The murmur of prejudice was not heard among the acclamations of beneficence. They found a peaceable retreat. They there live up to the perfection of their rule, and enjoy a perfect tranquillity, ſecured to them by the bounty, and the character, and the laws of the nation.

The laſt ſtroke of the axe had been applied to the root of religion in France. There was no room left to doubt that the ruin of the altar would draw with it the deſtruction of the throne. Without recurring to the principles of the French revolution, we have in the courſe of this hiſtory obſerved, and the attentive reader will recollect, that a double conſpiracy apppeared at the ſame moment, took the ſame ſteps, and advanced by the ſame gradations to a certain victory over religion and the monarchy.

The reformation of the clergy was the pretext for invading their property. The abuſe, the dilapidations of the treaſury were the oſtenſible motives for wreſting it from the ſuperintendence of the king. By this firſt operation all the property of the clergy, all the public treaſure paſſed into the hands of an aſſembly of conſpirators and rebels.

Under

Under the veil of zeal and reſpect for the doctrine of the church, an impious, inſidious conſtitution had ſapped the foundations of religion, and ſubjected it to the capricious will of the multitude; while they proteſted in the name of the Divinity that the government of France was monarchical, a wild conſtitution left to the king a name, but attributed the ſupreme power to clubs, to the tribunes of the people, to the municipalities and the mob.

The oath of apoſtacy had filled with horror and diſmay the faithful miniſters of the goſpel; they had reſigned their titles, their ſees, and the altars, to perjured ſucceſſors. The oath of rebellion and cowardice had driven every man of honour from the French legions, and delivered up the royal army to the meanneſs and the perfidy of the upſtarts of democracy.

Old calumnies frequently repeated had diſpoſed the people to part with their true paſtors. Conſpiracies, diſbelieved by thoſe who invented them, had made the people believe that a king, ſincerely devoted to their intereſts, was their greateſt enemy.

Calumny was ſupported by terror, and the miniſters of religion were every where environed with banditti: popular commotions a populace armed with fire and ſword beſieged the palace of the monarch, the caſtles of the nobility, the property and the perſons of his faithful ſubjects.

The inconceivable power of myſterious words exhibited to the nation a refractory monſter in every prieſt who remained true to his God and his conſcience; at the horrible ſound of ariſtocracy every honeſt Frenchman was devoted to exile or to death.

On the ſame day the king was lodged in the towers of the Temple, and his throne was deſtroyed. The ſame

day produced the liſt of prieſts to be ſhut up at the Carmes, and to be delivered over to the aſſaſſins.

The defenders of religion were either murdered or driven from the kingdom; the ſupporters of the throne were either ſacrificed or obliged to emigrate to Coblentz.

The altar was ſtained with blood, and it was ſoon to pollute the throne. Impiety was to be crowned by the death of the king. Three months had not elapſed from the maſſacre of the clergy, when Lewis XVI. appeared on the ſcaffold, and his head fell by the decree of a convention of aſſaſſins, ſtyling itſelf national.

At this moment, heaven by its moſt dreadful ſcourges avenges both. France had long been a ſcandal to Europe, ſhe is now an object of horror and contempt. To the north and to the ſouth hoſtile armies invade her frontiers, leſs with a view to ſubdue her, than to contract her ſphere of action, and to oblige her to ſeek her prey at home. The impious ſect is the wild beaſt ſurrounded in its haunts to confine its ravages. It is the plague prevented by a line of troops from ſpreading infection. The royaliſts under Gaſton, tear its bowels by inteſtine war, while York, Cobourg and Frederic, lay waſte its frontiers. Unhappy country! thou needeſt not foreign aid to accompliſh thy deſtruction. The nobles are extinct, and the people devour one another. The murderers of the prieſts fall under the axe of their accomplices. The firſt rebels are no more; Mirabeau is dead; the Duke de la Rochefaucauld is aſſaſſinated; Robeſpiere has preſented Pethion; Marat has impriſoned Briſſot: Danton is ſuſpected by his party, and Marat rots in his grave.

The jacobins of la Gironde and Marſeilles have taken up arms againſt the jacobins of the Seine. They are monſters, tearing, biting, murdering one another. Robeſpiere alone appears at the head of his banditti, becauſe France

France muſt not be left without executioners. Anarchy prevails every where, on all ſides; corruption, murder, famine, impiety and madneſs. The people are miſerable, they pillage, ſteal and murder; their perpetual cry is, *Liberty*, and they are every where ſlaves to the banditti; they boaſt equality, and every where they are equally miſerable.

If a continuation of the hiſtory of the French revolution ſhould ever appear, ſuch is the chaos which the author muſt unfold. We ſhould ſtill ſee prieſts confined in loathſome priſons, and periſhing by the ſword of aſſaſſins; we ſhould be ſhocked at the outrages offered to the royal family. We ſhould ſee the ſeries of crimes againſt the altar and the throne, prolonged and aggravated from day to day, and the hand of God preſſing with additional weight on a city which kills its prieſts and its kings. Who ſhall develope ſo complicated a ſyſtem of villainy? It is known, it can only be known to the few who have eſcaped from the ſanguinary perſecution. Pride carefully conceals from the public eye the diſorders, the confuſion, the crimes which have drawn down the vengeance of an inſulted Deity. But the world is not kept in ignorance, and I have ſaid enough to point out the crimes, and the horrors by which the moſt impious of ſects has deſerved theſe ſcourges. May the God, who has been provoked to pour them on my devoted country, be at length appeaſed. If at firſt the blood of his martyrs cried for vengeance, let it now cry for mercy. They are our brethren, and they will join their ſupplications to thoſe of legions of prieſts, whom they have left behind them. We will invoke, we will ſolicit and importune them to offer a holy violence to our common Father. They are our friends; they ſuffer death rather than be polluted by perjury, ſchiſm, hereſy and impiety; our cauſe is the ſame; the decree for our exile aſſigns no other; theſe

are the grounds of our confidence in the martyrs. May they unite their prayers to ours, and may their fervency atone by ſurpaſſing the crimes of the wicked. May the impious man be converted, and may the happy days of France once more return! May its government, its kings, and its altars be re-eſtabliſhed! Long enough have foreign nations ſhuddered at the vengeance of God on this unfortunate empire. The rulers of the earth are in arms, and Europe has beheld with aſtoniſhment the ſcourges, which have been drawn down by the blaſphemies of a falſe wiſdom. If the names of theſe vain ſophiſts, if the remembrance of their ſect ſhould deſcend to poſterity, their hiſtory will be ranked with the accounts of a hoſt of conſuming inſects and reptiles, the corruption of which deſolated the earth with a fatal peſtilence. A remembrance more honorable to our annals, more dear to our hearts, will recall to our minds the generous hoſpitality with which we have been received and cheriſhed by the neighbouring nations.



FINIS.

A LIST OF THE

ECCLESIASTICS MASSACRED

AT THE

CARMES, ABBEY, SEMINARY OF ST. FIRMIN, AND LA FORCE,

ON THE FIRST DAYS OF SEPTEMBER, 1792.

DULAU, archbiſhop of Arles.
Louis de la Rochefoucault, biſhop of Saintes.
Joſeph de la Rochefoucault, biſhop of Beauvais.
Boiſgelin, formerly agent of the clergy.

Vicars General.

Deſprés, of Paris.
Langlade, of Rouen.
Foucault, of Arles.
De Fargues, of Clermons.
Torame, of Toulon.
Torame, of Blois.
Pagery Thorame, of Arles.
Brice, of Beauvais.
Chap de Raſtignac, of Arles.
Teſſier, of Tulles.
De Maſrembeau, of Limoges.
Gervais, Secretary to the archbiſhop of Paris.
De Luberſac, Almoner to Madame Victoria.

Generals Superiors of Orders.

Chevreux, of the Benedictins of St. Maurs.
Hebert, of the Eudiſts.

Superiors of Seminaries.

François, S. of Firmin.
Fauconnet, S. of the Thirty Three.

Andrieux, S. of St. Nicolas du Chardonet.
Menuret, of St. Francis of Sales at Iſſy.
Gallais, of the Robertins.
Pſalmon, S. of the Community of Laôn.
Savines, S. of the Clergy of St. Sulpitius.
Cuſſac, S. of the Philoſophers at Paris.
Potier, S. of St. Vivien at Rouen.
Le Franc Eud. Sup. of the Seminary of Coutauces

Rectors of Pariſhes.

Gros, of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet in Paris.
Royer, of St. John Grève in Paris.
Le Ber, of the Magdalene in Paris.
Etard, of Charonne, near Paris.
Candron, in the dioceſe of Paris.
Schmitz, of Cardinal Lemoine in Paris.
Bonzé, of Maſſy near Paris.
Bottex, dioceſe of Lyons.
Collin, d. of Langres.
Fougeres, of Nevers.
Maignien, d. of Rouen.
Aubert, of Pontoiſe.
Abraham, d. of Rheims.
St. Martin, d. of Séez.
Poret,
Le Prieur, of La Ferté Gaucher Maine.
Le Jardinier, d. of Coûtance.
Mandui, d. of Sens.
Dubuiſſon, of Barville, d. of Sens.
Pellier, of Montigny.
Boiſſet, of Niort.
Auzurel, d. of Saintes.
Rouzé d'Emalville, d. of Rouen.
Gueſneau, of Alone.
Du Perron, d. of Séez.
Loublié * *
Caron, d. of Meaux.
Marmottan, of Compans, d. of Meaux.

Guedon,

Guedon, d. of Meaux.
De la Lande, d. of Evreux.

Pariſh Vicars and other Parochial Clergy of Paris.

Mouſle, of St. Merry.
Seguin, of St. Andre des Arcs.
Vitalis, of St. Merry.
Lavau, of St. Leu.
Pey, of St. Landry.
Marmotan, of St. Severin.
Fontaine, of St. Jacques de la Boucherie.
Martin, id.
Barret, of St. Roch.
Le Danois, id.
Guilleminet, id.
Dubrai, St. Sulpice.
Maſſin, id.
Guerin, id.
Le Mercier. of St. Euſtachius.
Millet, of St. Hippolitus.
Duval, of St. Stephen du Mont.
Chaude, of St. Nicolas des Champs.
Du Ruelles, of St. Gervaiſe.
Kerviſier, of St. James du Haut Pas.
Berac, of St. Sauveur.
Formanton, of Semin, of 33.
Duvoy, id.
Coſta, an Italian prieſt.
Regnier, Inſtitutor.
Aderyſi, P. of Paris.
Nativel, id.
Rateau, of the Seminary for foreign Miſſions.

Hoſpital Prieſts at Paris.

Delaveſe, Hôtel-Dieu.
Falcos, la Pitie. Duval, id.

St.

St. James, id.
Lucan, id.
Clairet, Amoner.

Prieſts of St. Francis of Sales.

Duteil.
Reguin.
Le Breton.
Laugier.
Colin.
Gillomot.
Dumas.

Sulpicians. *

Goguin.
Guerin.
Rouſſeau.
Houlier.

Houſe of Eudiſts.

Dardan.
Bouſquet.
Baſdeau.
Beaulieu.
Le Bif.
Balmain.
Samſon.
Gueudon.
Poyel.
St. Sauveur.
Jamin.
Luzeau.

Doctors and Profeſſors.

Hermes, Doctor of Sorbonne.
Garrigues, id.
Turménye, Grand Maſter of Navarre.
Kerenrun, Proctor, ibid.
Briquet, Prof. of Théol. ibid.
Binard. Prof. Eme. of Navarre
Phelippeau, id.

* The congregation of St. Sulpitius, though not very numerous, reckons amongſt its members thirteen who ſuffered for refuſing the oath. The three laſt Mr. Secretier, the rector of the little ſeminary of Clermont, Le Mercier and Ayme, directors of the grand ſeminary of Bourges, were at Conches, a ſmall town of Burgundy, when they were ſtopped, notwithſtanding their paſſports, and in oppoſition to the decrees of deportation, in obedience to which they were retiring to Switzerland.

Kerviſe,

Kerviſe, id.
De St. Aulaire, Bachelor, id.
De Ferrier.
The Grand Prof. of Phil. Coll. Lyſieux at Paris.
Henoch, Prof. Cardinal le Moine.
De Launai, Prof of Rhét. at Rennes.

Prebends.

Salins, of Couſerans.
Longuet, of St. Martin of Tours.
St. Sauveur, of Sens.
St. Remi, of * * *
Pradal, of St. Geneviève.
Daval, id.
Claude Pons, id.
Bernard, of St. Victor.

Prieſts of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet.

Owief.
Bize.
Balzac.
Gillet.
Le Clerc.
Laſnier.
Veret.

Religious.

D. Barreau, Bened.
D. Maſſy, id.
Burté, Guardian of the Cordeliers of Paris.
Jardin, Cordelier.
Morel, a German, Capuchin at St. Sulpice of Paris.
Zurtrel, Minim.

Ex-Jeſuits.

Bonneau, V. G. of Lyons.
Guerin du Rocher, Superior of the new Converts at Paris.
Guérin du Rocher, ancient Miſſionary.
L'Enfant, Preacher.
Vourlat.

Le

Le Gué, Preacher.
Friteyere Durvé, id.
Millou id.
Second, id.
Gagneres des Granges, formerly Profeſſ. of Phil.
Graſſet.
Saurin.
Delfaut, Archdeacon of Sarlat.
Dumés, of Cahors.
Rouſſeau, Direct. of Relig.
Bonnotte, id.
Verron, Direct. of Relig.
Villecroix, id.
Rouſſell.
La Porte, Profeſſor of Rhetoric.
Gaultier, Almoner of the Incurables.
Duroult, Pr. of La Pitié.

Of the Chriſtian Doctrine.

Bochot, Superior.
Felix, Procurator.
Le Clerc, Secretary.

Directors and Chaplains.

Nogier, of the Urſulines S. James-ſtreet.
Le Febvre, of Mercy.
Girault, of St. Elizabeth.
Rabé, of the Foundling Hoſpital.
Sautrel, Suburbs of St. Anthony.
Lanchon, of Port-Royal.
Hédouin, of the Congregation.

Country Parochial Prieſts.

Nativel, of Argenteuil.
Ploquin, dioc. of Angers.
Copeine, dioc. of Paris.
Le Doux, id.

Samſon,

Samſon, of St. Gilles of Caen.
Carnus, of Rhodez.
Dufour, of Maiſons.
Girouſt, of Genevrieres.
Lezan, Dugny.
Lezan, Valogne.
Le Meunier, of Mortagne.
Volondal, of Limoges.
Marchand, of Niort.
Landry, id.
Gruyer, Miſſ. of St. Louis, Verſailles.
Becavin, of Nantes.
Portier, id.
Monges, of Beaune.
Regnet, of Ville d'Avray.
Campalle, dioc. of Lavaur.
M. * * *, Vicaire of Arpajeo.

Prieſts of unknown Dignities.

Menot, de Panſemon.
Foreſtier.
Pangonet of Sartret.
Viroi.
Bonnet de Prade.
Colmée.
Furcy.
Foret.
Gendreau.
Hergne, of Route.
Fournier.
Le Roi.
Millet.
Baugné.
Boucharette.
Augeard.
Landeveau.
Poncegenor.
N * * * Prieſt ſeized near the place M'Aubert.

Deacons and inferior Clergy.

Boubert, Deacon, Inſtitutor of Clergy at St. Sulpitius.
Ravinel, D. of Nancy.
Robert, D. of Luçon.
De Roſtain, D. of Lyons.
De Lezardiere, D. at Sém, of St. Sulpitius.

Hurtrel,

Hurtrel, D.
Nezel, Acolyth Inſtitutor at Iſſy.
N * * * Minor of the Seminaire of St. Nicolas.
Texier, Clerk cant. at St. Sulpitius.
Lambertini, Clerk.
Thierry, Acolyth.

Laity.

Régis de Valfons, formerly officer in the Regiment of Champagne.
De Villette, Chevalier of St. Louis.
De Brielle, Sacriſtan of La Pitié.
Duval, School-maſter.
N. * *, in the ſervice of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet.

N. B. It was reported that Mr. Turmenyes had been taken from among the dead by a ſurgeon. Letters of a later date affirm his death as beyond a doubt. This fact is at preſent applied to Mr. Kerenrum, as had been before done for Mr. Pontus, prieſt in Paris. It is however certain that they were all three aſſaſſinated, and as ſuch left amongſt the dead.

N. B. 2. You muſt add to this liſt at leaſt thirty more eccleſiaſtics, conducted from the committee of Sur Veillance to the Abbey, and immediately maſſacred on the ſecond. Again, ſixteen at leaſt murdered at La Force, and the Place Dauphine. Others again in the ſtreets, fifty or ſixty, whoſe names are yet unknown; ſo that you may account the number of eccleſiaſtics deſtroyed in the beginning of September, at Paris, to be at leaſt three hundred.

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